Translating Tacitus

The Reception of Tacitus's Works in the Vernacular Languages of Europe, 16th-17th Centuries

Saúl Martínez Bermejo

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Contents

Preface
Ann Katherine Isaacs, Guðmundur Hálfdanarson ..... p. IX

The CLIOHRES Network of Excellence ..... » XI

Acknowledgements ..... » XIII

Note on the author ..... » XIV

Introduction ..... » 1

1. A European phenomenon ..... » 11
Tacitism in early modern political thought ..... » 11
Catalogue ..... » 19
Connected Europe ..... » 25

2. Translations are books and have readers ..... » 39
Material forms and actual readers ..... » 39
Popularization ..... » 52

3. Translators in context ..... » 63
Attitudes towards translating Tacitus ..... » 64
Patronage and the intellectual career of translators ..... » 73

4. Translations and time ..... » 85
Proximity ..... » 88
Distance ..... » 99

Epilogue. Translations, history, and politics ..... » 111
Instructions for reading history ..... » 116

Notes ..... » 123

Bibliography ..... » 143

Spanish summary ..... » 153

Preface

In early modern times Europe was not only a myth or a geographical expression. In the 16th and 17th centuries it was also a cultural space, differentiated linguistically, but where scholars and men of state shared a culture and a number of concerns. For one thing they thirsted for information on how politics could be understood and bent to their purposes. Many of them shared the conviction that the writings of the first-century historian Caius Cornelius Tacitus held the answers they were seeking. Some translated Tacitus directly, others promoted translations and their publication in the vernacular languages. Tacitus was a European best-seller.

In his *Translating Tacitus. The Reception of Tacitus's Works in the Vernacular Languages of Europe, 16th-17th Centuries*, Saúl Martínez Bermejo catalogues the translations, portrays the translators, and leads us through a critical analysis of how Tacitus's works were 'received'. Building on the active understanding of reception developed by Peter Burke, Martínez Bermejo goes beyond the stereotype of early modern 'Tacitism', seen as a kind of secret code for studying politics as an autonomous sphere of human endeavour without admitting to an interest in or a knowledge of Machiavelli.

Martínez Bermejo brings a historical and political approach to the history of translation. In his view this means adding a new dimension to what until today have been largely literary studies, with little regard for the translators', promoters' and publishers' intellectual and political agendas, and even less for how translated works were actually read.

For Martínez Bermejo translations are not classics for the less cultivated. The early modern translator considered himself to be the 'author' of the work, as indeed in many respects he was. The translation would of course be presented as accurate, but the author/translator could influence in practice how the world of imperial Rome was perceived with respect to current issues. Tacitus' world and his attitude to it could be reflected on present day polities and events: for some the Roman empire and the shocking picture of despotism recounted by its annalist mirrored the Spanish empire. For others, ancient Rome was far away, a pagan polity with no direct connection to the Christian present. But everyone thought that reading Tacitus was important and useful.

Many were able to read the Latin texts; but translations offered advantages – along with not a few dangers. On the one hand, translations could be compared, allow-

ing a more penetrating critical understanding of the Tacitus's prose, famous for its *brevitas*. On the other hand, translations could sway the reader in the direction of the interpretation that the translator preferred. Readers used translations for both purposes, to achieve critical understanding and to create personal arsenals of aphorisms to be drawn on in political debates or writings.

We are proud to present *Translating Tacitus*. It is the fifteenth in a series of volumes based on dissertations produced by doctoral candidates who have participated in the CLIOHRES Network of Excellence. Saúl Martínez Bermejo has contributed greatly to the research activities of CLIOHRES. He has had a significant role in the work of the Thematic Work Group on "States, Institutions, Legislation", contributing to several of the yearly volumes of research results. He is one of the editors of the fifth year volume, *Layers of Power: Societies and Institutions in Europe*. We thank him for his collaboration and for his willingness to publish – appropriately, in English translation with a Spanish summary – a significant part of his dissertation, making it accessible to a broad readership.

For the cover illustration we have chosen a detail of a fresco from ancient Pompeii. It represents a villa in a forest. The quick brush strokes infuse the view with life, and – in spite of the cracks and crumbling stucco – give us a shadowy glimpse directly into the first century, when Tacitus was still alive. The villa looms eerily, suggesting hidden meanings. We propose it simply as a reminder of the immanence of the ancient world, recognised or not, in the culture of scholars, politicians, translators and readers. Yesterday and today.

Ann Katherine Isaacs
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The CLIOHRES Network of Excellence

CLIOHRES is a consortium of 45 universities and research institutions in 31 countries. Each institution is represented by two senior researchers and two doctoral students coming from various academic fields – primarily from history, but also from art history, archaeology, architecture, philology, political science, literary studies and geography. The 180 researchers in the network are divided into six "Thematic Work Groups", each of which deals with a broadly defined research area – 'States, Institutions and Legislation', 'Power and Culture', 'Religion and Philosophy', 'Work, Gender and Society', 'Frontiers and Identities', and 'Europe and the Wider World'. Furthermore, the Network as a whole addresses 'transversal themes' of general relevance. These include 'Citizenship', 'Migration', 'Tolerance and Discrimination', 'Gender' and 'Identities'; one of these is targeted each year.

As a Network of Excellence, CLIOHRES is not an ordinary research project. It does not focus on a single research question or on a set of specific questions. Rather it is conceived as a forum where researchers representing various national and regional traditions can meet and elaborate their work in new ways thanks to structured interaction with their colleagues. The objective is not only to transcend the national boundaries that still largely define historical research agendas, opening new avenues for research, but also to use those very differences to become critically aware of how current research agendas have evolved. Thus, the goal is to examine basic and unquestioned attitudes about ourselves and others, which are rooted in the ways that the scientific community in each country looks at history. Historians create and cultivate selective views of the national or local past, which in turn underpin pervasive ideas about identities and stereotypes: national, religious, gender, political, etc. National historiographies today are still largely shaped by problems and preoccupations reflecting previous political and cultural contexts. CLIOHRES aims to create and promote a new structure and agenda for the community of historical research, redirecting its critical efforts along more fruitful lines.

The Network began its work in June 2005, thanks to a five-year contract with the European Commission through the Sixth Framework Programme of its Directorate General for Research, under Priority 7, dealing with "Citizenship". Its activities aim to contribute to the development of innovative approaches to history as regards both the European Research Area and European Higher Education Area. The Network works for a closer connection between research and learning/teaching,

holding that this is essential in order to ensure that European citizens possess the necessary information, conceptual tools and more in general the vital critical and self-critical abilities which they will need in the future.

All the thematic groups have worked from the start according to a common research plan, beginning in the first year with reconnaissance or mapping, of how the questions perceived as important for the thematic area appear in the different national historiographies. During the second year they defined 'connecting' themes, which are relevant for research in a wider geographical and chronological context. The third phase has concentrated on comparing and reviewing sources and methodologies; the fourth has focussed on cross-fertilisation, that is on showing how problems identified in the previous phases can be developed in new contexts. During the last phase, the groups are defining new and relevant projects, in the broadest sense, for future research in the sector.

Each Thematic Work Group publishes one volume a year in order to share and discuss the results of their work with the broader academic community.

The volumes are not conceived as the final word on the issues that they deal with, but rather as work-in-progress. In addition to the six Thematic Work Group volumes, the Network publishes one common volume per year dealing with the transversal theme targeted. It also publishes abridged versions of the dissertations written by doctoral students who have participated in its work. Together the volumes already published form an invitation to discuss the results of the Network and the novel directions that are emerging from its work; they also constitute a unique patrimony of up-to-date studies on well-known and less well-known aspects of Europe and its history.

All publications are available in book form and on the www.cliohres.net website. They can be downloaded without charge. A list of publications to date can be found at the end of this volume.

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Writing this book, I have come to contemplate the enormous length of the path ahead me in this field of history. I would like to thank those from whom I learn every time I meet them. Pablo Fernández Albaladejo and James Amelang have supervised my work and helped me in every possible way to become a historian. Julio Pardos has always been a dealer of influential, if totally unrelated, books. Juan Pan-Montojo encouraged me in the moments of hard work. Katherine Isaacs has been especially patient and understanding with my continuous delays, and her careful reading and suggestions undoubtedly improved my manuscript. Ruth MacKay helped me to finish this book; she corrected my English and translated chapters 3-5 in a wonderful manner. I also would like to thank James Amelang (again), Fernando Bouza, and Pedro Cardim, who supported me in my search for a post while I was writing this book. My parents and my brother Javier have always been near me and I owe them everything I am. My friends at the university (*seminarios y contratiempos*) make all this much easier. To Jesús Izquierdo Martín and Pablo Sánchez León, Leopoldo Moscoso, Gregorio Alonso, Pablo López Calle, David Corominas, Manrique García, Nacho Vidal Liy, Hector Gutiérrez, María Gómez, Juan Pimentel, Javier Castro, Rafael Ibañez Rojo, Lidia García-Merás, Javier de Diego, Francisco Bellosillo, Patricia Calderón, Sandra Chaparro, Darina Martykánova, Nuria Valverde, Esther Pascua, Carlos Agüero, Noelia González Adánez, María Gómez, and María Cruz de Carlos I am very happy to say thank you. My friends outside the university make all this much more fun. Álvaro, Marta, Victoria, Eugenio, Arancha, Pili, Paco, Jacobo, Víctor, Almudena, Cristina, Fernando, Teresa, Jorge, Pedro, Jose Antonio (thanks for your help with the text in the summer), Yuko, Eduardo, Tamara, Jose, Cristina, Simone, Alberto, Alberto, Raquel, Jean-Paul, Javier, Paula, Jorge, Antonio, Maitina, Rebeca, Alejandro, Enrique, Fernando, Naëlle, thanks to you all. Solène makes all this different, less important, better.

Saúl Martínez Bermejo

Note on the author

Saúl Martínez Bermejo was born in Madrid, Spain, in 1978. He received his undergraduate degree in History from the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM). He has been a researcher at the University of Cambridge and at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. He has recently completed and defended his PhD thesis, *Tácito leído. Prácticas lectoras y fundamentos intelectuales de la recepción de Tácito en la edad moderna*, at the UAM. He has been member of Cliohres.net since 2006, and is co-editor of *Layers of Power in Europe*, the fifth book written by TWG1 (forthcoming). At present, he collaborates in a multidisciplinary research group on *Historia Cultural de los Siglos de Oro* (UAM), and is co-host of *Contratiempo*, a radio program on History and Memory (Círculo de Bellas Artes, Madrid). His current research interests include the reception of classical culture, the dynamics of cultural transfer, and the development of the notion of politics in early modern Europe. He is also interested in the history (and the future) of the book and of reading, in the history of early modern science and in the challenges faced by history and historical knowledge in 21st-century societies.

Introduction

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the works of the Latin historian Caius Cornelius Tacitus, who wrote in the first century AD, became bestsellers in Europe[1]. From Italy to France, and in England, the Netherlands, the German Empire, and the Spanish monarchy, Tacitus's *Annals*, *Histories*, *Life of Agricola*, *Germania*, and even the *Dialogue on Orators* – which in that period was not consistently attributed to him – became privileged objects of reading. Soon, a wide array of derivative works appeared. Commentaries on the text, discourses based on selected passages, aphorisms, judgments or notes, and virtually any kind of book related to Tacitus's texts in any possible form found a printer and readers.

As might be expected, many of these books were translations into vernacular languages. One of the outstanding features of early modern Europe from the start of the Renaissance was the recovery of the corpus of classical texts and their reutilization. Greek and Latin texts were searched, corrected, altered, edited, and actively read. They were imitated, commented upon, extracted, and compiled. Obviously, the rendering of the ancient poets, dramatists, philosophers, and historians played an important role in the introduction of the classics into this new cultural context. Translations were a distinguishing feature of early modern culture and politics, and Tacitus's translations occupied an important position in this panorama. As Peter Burke has shown, Tacitus was not only a very popular author, he was the most translated ancient historian during the early modern period[2].

In presenting a translated work, an early modern translator would typically comment upon matters such as the superiority of Latin, the lack of vocabulary in the vernacular, the debate between those who translate word for word and those who try to capture the general meaning, and the general difficulties undergone during his or her labours. In the case of Tacitus's translations, it was usual to add some extra considerations regarding the stylistic difficulties of the original Latin, the *brevitas* of its condensed phrases, etc.[3] Those general concerns and the many metaphors used in prefaces and dedicatory epistles were intended to describe the inherently intriguing phenomenon of translation, which has attracted the interest of numerous scholars. The imbalance between original and translated text has provided a constant topic of reflection in the many pages devoted to describing the theoretical basis of translation.

Reflections on translation can be found in many historical contexts, in works specifically devoted to the subject or mentioned only in passing, from Cicero and Quintilian up to Walter Benjamin and José Ortega y Gasset. In a complementary move, philologists have contributed, at least since the 19th century, to delineate a history of translation. Translations from the classics have been catalogued in various forms and incorporated into the history of national literatures. The reception of famous authors in different countries has also been the object of scholarly work. With some exceptions, the dominant approach of these philological efforts has been encyclopaedic – the aim being to identify and catalogue translations into a national language during a given historical period or to reconstruct a specific literary canon.

Translation studies have a more recent history, having been consolidated as an autonomous field of study in the academy only in the last three decades of the 20th century[4]. Anthologies of historical texts – mainly of prefaces and other preliminaries containing theoretical reflections on translation – aim to study translation as a discipline, and the common result is a genealogical and somehow unreal reconstruction of its beginnings and development that pays little attention to the wider historical context in which those texts were produced[5]. One must admit, however, that scholars have produced a great deal of critical consideration on the building of the discipline. In the 1970s and 1980s, trends in linguistics and literary criticism affected translation studies, leading some scholars to consider cultural exchange from a new perspective involving readers and their culture[6]. More attention was paid to practice – what translators do, not what they say they do – as well as to audiences and the effects of translations on the culture receiving them[7].

It would be untrue to affirm that no historical study of translation has been produced. It is an exaggeration to state that "the genre of history of translation has been rather neglected by scholars"[8] or that "until recently" the history of translation "was an academically marginal activity, pursued on the fringes of literary and religious history"[9]. But it is probably fair to say that historians have not fully explored the possibilities of studying past translations. As Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia have recently indicated, "the turn towards history within Translation Studies has not yet been matched by a turn towards the history of translation on the part of historians"[10].

A historical approach to translation should aim at identifying and analyzing the presence of a past era in a translated text, untangling how specific circumstances and more general cultural features permeated the final version. It should investigate

how a translated text operated in a bygone reality – its actual effects – together with the translator's intentions. Considered in this way, translation appears as something more complex than a mere linguistic transaction, and it attains the category of cultural exchange. It may well be conceived as a "double process of decontextualization and recontextualization, first reaching out to appropriate something alien and then domesticating it"[11]. Following this schema, it seems evident that the traits added to any translated text, whether they are more or less visible, deliberately or unconsciously introduced, are the product of historical configurations. As such, these traits offer – often by way of a slight "mistake" or other little peculiarities – a key for understanding the intellectual practices of the era in which they were created. Past translations form part of wider historical processes, and their meaning is often obscured if they are studied exclusively in relation to previous and later versions of their originals. From a historical standpoint it should be easy to discern that translated texts perform acts and are created by individuals inserted into precise intellectual environments, related to particular patrons, and participating in concrete book markets.

The texts of Tacitus that this book analyzes are, according to traditional scholarly standards, nonfictional histories of the opening moments of the Roman Empire that can be considered a more or less valuable source for ancient history. The critical philological understanding of Tacitus's works usually emphasizes their literary or artistic characteristics with significant qualifications on the utilization and assessment of the historical data[12]. What interests me here, however, is the specific political use that these same texts acquired in the 16th and 17th centuries. A pagan, Caius Cornelius Tacitus was a controversial author, accused of impiety almost as often as his texts were praised for their most excellent political knowledge and guidelines for effective action. Translations reflect this intellectual environment and provide clues for understanding how the history of the first Roman emperors, the barbaric tribes of northern Europe, and ancient military customs was used to interpret reality, provide political counsel, and offer advice on personal behaviour.

Since the first complete set of Tacitus's works appeared in Rome in 1515, the link between his texts and politics was repeatedly underlined[13]. Early editors such as Filippo Beroaldo, Andrea Alciato, and Beatus Rhenanus helped establish this image with comments in their prefaces and other preliminaries. But the bond became much tighter and was renewed after the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius in 1574 published the most influential Latin edition of the early modern period. Revised at least six times until the posthumous version of 1607, Lipsius's Tacitus rapidly

gained wide reknown and led to a new wave of reception throughout Europe. Hand in hand with the Latin reception came the great wave of translations which I will examine here. During the last quarter of the 16th century and into the 17th century, Tacitus's works played a growing role in the development of political thought, and historians have associated them with the rise of literature on reason of state. Although this connection may rightly be considered just one part of the story, the central position of Tacitus's works undoubtedly makes them a peculiarly interesting case through which to understand early modern political culture.

Following the pioneering work of Giuseppe Toffanin, the use of Tacitus's texts in early modern politics has generally been called "Tacitism". This catch-all denomination encompasses many and varied approaches to the phenomenon of the reception and use of Tacitus's works, ranging from authors who see an encrypted use of Machiavelli through the quotations of and comments on Tacitus to those scholars who limit the political use of Tacitus to the Renaissance, dismissing or minimizing the Baroque reception. The literature on the subject is too broad to supply a comprehensive list here. Peter Burke and André Stegmann have produced definitions of the basic traits of Tacitism[14]. Arnaldo Momigliano, Kenneth Schellhase, Richard Tuck, Étienne Thuau, Else-Lilly Etter, and Jacob Soll have evaluated Tacitus's role in early modern political thought, as did Toffanin in his pioneering study[15]. In Spain, Enrique Tierno Galván, José Antonio Maravall, Beatriz Antón Martínez, Charles Davis, José Antonio Fernández Santamaría, and María Teresa Cid Vázquez proposed different approaches to the phenomenon, while Francisco Sanmartí Boncompte published a catalogue on the reception of Tacitus[16]. The French reception has been partly analysed by J.H.M. Salmon and Jacob Soll, and Jürgen von Stackelberg has analysed the reception in both France and Italy[17]. The German case has been dominated by analysis of the particular "nationalistic" use of Tacitus's *Germania*[18]. In England, there are studies by Edwin B. Benjamin, Alan T. Bradford, J.H. M. Salmon, and Mary F. Tenney[19]. Noel B. Reynolds, Arlene W. Saxonhouse, and Richard Tuck have discussed Hobbes's discourses on Tacitus[20]. P. Alessandra Maccioni and Marco Mostert, Kevin Sharpe, and Ronald Mellor have researched Isaac Dorislaus's lectures on Tacitus[21].

Compared to works on Tacitism, much less has been said about translations of Tacitus, and in spite of some interesting exceptions, many studies privilege a descriptive approach. A short-reference catalogue of translations in all European languages can be found in Etter's *Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. In Spain, Tierno Galván catalogued the four published and other minor

or manuscript translations, but, as was the case with Maravall and his followers, the political implications of Tacitism were analyzed without taking into account the characteristics and differences of the translations. At the same time, while literary scholars such as Sanmartí Boncompte and Antón Martínez inspected the translations in depth, they usually referred to their exactitude, quality, stylistic value, and relation to the edition used for translation but did not mention the historical causes and consequences of these particular traits. Stackelberg devoted some pages to the Italian translations of Giorgio Dati and Bernardo Davanzati and produced a list of French translations together with a brief comment on the characteristics of some of them, especially the one by Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt. Apart from d'Ablancourt's well-studied translations, the list of French translations still awaits a comprehensive study. An exception to this is Soll's analysis of Nicolas-Abraham Amelot de la Houssaye's works. Two specific studies on Tacitus's translations into English, each very much focused on political aspects, have been produced by David Woomersley and Steven Zwicker and David Bywaters[22]. Franz Josef Worstbrock made brief notes on two early German translations, a manuscript version of the *Germania* and the first printed vernacular rendering of the *Annales* and *Historiae* by Professor Jacob Mycillus of Heidelberg[23].

In the present study, translations are considered as peculiar readings of Tacitus's texts and as the point of departure for many new readings that were constrained or mediated by the characteristics given to the translated text. This chain of readership and interpretation shows the complexity of the production of meaning of these texts and pays special attention to the active role of the audience that receives them. This is an approach methodologically inspired in the reception aesthetic of Hans Robert Jauss, Wolfgang Iser, and others. Together with the intentions of the author and the face of the text, this perspective emphasizes the active role of the reader in interpreting any work, opening an interesting path for observing and interpreting the historical characteristics that Tacitus's texts were assigned in early modern Europe. Needless to say, the history of reading by Roger Chartier and others, and studies on how early modern individuals such as Gabriel Harvey, John Dee, and William Drake read their texts also are at the conceptual and methodological core of my research. This approach aims to demonstrate that early modern translation of Tacitus is best considered a noisy activity, a 'dirty' treatment of the texts that left many traces for understanding the culture that handled them.

To illustrate the extent of the variations in the meaning of Tacitus's texts and the early modern political reading behind them it may suffice to compare two Spanish

translations of just one sentence. In 1613, when the first translation of the *Annals* into Spanish appeared, the sentence with which Tacitus marks the starting point of the principate of Tiberius read: "The first deed [*hazaña*] of the new Empire was Agrippa Postumus' homicide"[24]. Only sixteen years later, in the translation published under the name of Carlos Coloma, the phrase had a completely different taste, as the term "deed" (*facinus* in the original) was substituted by "evil thing" (*maldad*)[25]. The moral judgment incorporated into the second rendering speaks of a cautious approach to the lessons of history, if not outright hostility. Minor details and erudite disquisitions which today are of scarce academic interest may well have been the subject of major political disputes in the early modern era.

This book primarily addresses the Spanish, English, and French cases, but in an effort to be as comprehensive as possible, I have included multiple references to Italy, Germany, Portugal, the Netherlands, and other European territories, trying to highlight the most important trends in the evolution of Tacitus's reception. I have tried to develop a general schema that allows for generalization and comparison between the different translations and their uses. The book is structured thematically – aiming to show some possibilities for a historical approach to Tacitus's translations – rather than according to chronological or geographic indicators.

The first chapter opens with a discussion of the European scope of Tacitus's reception and a review of the state of the art of Tacitism by scholars of early modern European politics. Next, a series of general indications on the editions, translations, and commentaries serves to underscore the breadth of the phenomenon and to examine the major problems in cataloguing Tacitus's translations. I have complemented this survey with an examination of contemporaneous perceptions of Tacitus's reception. Translators often used or criticized the work of previous translators, they established comparisons between one another, and they tried to position their works and figures within a shared literary environment. These comparisons and struggles sometimes jumped linguistic frontiers or revealed notions regarding the use of Tacitus by European rulers. All these perceptions could define or provoke accusations and disputes, providing a clear example of the extent of European interconnections on the level of political thought.

In the second chapter I examine the apparently evident: Tacitus's translations involved the production of a book and shared the historical characteristics of books produced in early modern Europe. In the past thirty years, the history of reading has proved a very active domain within cultural history, one of its core interests being

the study of material book culture. Texts, as Roger Chartier has indicated, are available to readers only through material forms, and these formal aspects considerably affect the process of the creation of meaning. From front to back cover, the pages of an early modern translation of Tacitus included many elements that mediated between text and readers. Bringing a translation into print implied choosing size, typeface, and quality of paper, as well as dividing books and chapters, incorporating abstracts to explain the contents of each of the sections, printing marginal notes, and composing indices of places, persons, and important topics, diagrams, images, etc. All of this added to the sense of the text, modifying and constraining its possible readings. Texts may be interchangeable, but books are not, and each single edition is therefore an irreplaceable source for a historical approach to Tacitus in early modern Europe.

Latin was the language of classics, but also that of the learned class in early modern Europe. It is easy to detect a marked social component in vernacular translations, which were – perhaps ideally – directed to a public that could not access the classics in the original language. A close scrutiny of translations helps us understand the circulation of and mutual influence between elite and popular culture, or at least the ways in which scholars and erudite translators imagined popular reading. Translators to a certain extent sought popularization, but they also harbored doubts and fears about the uses that the wider public could make of texts accused of being dangerous and considered best reserved for rulers and royal advisers. The actual ways in which Tacitus's translations were read, together with the ways in which this extended reading was conceived of, constitute a major component in the diffusion of Tacitus's texts and the theories of history and politics usually associated with them.

In chapter 3 I show that translation was conceived as part of the intellectual activity of a scholar, the education of a ruler, and the leisure of a nobleman. All three conceptions speak to the immense variety of motives and uses behind each translated work of the Latin historian. A wide range of people, from kings and queens to soldiers, jurists, physicians, and astronomers, sponsored or directly undertook the intellectual activity of rewriting Tacitus's works. All of them took part in the original authority of Tacitus but to very different ends and with varied ideas on the activity they were carrying out. Very often, especially in the case of scholars, translators were inserted into networks of patronage and service, and translations contributed to consolidate a public image and to foster careers at court. Specific contexts and concrete occasions for publishing a translation need to be examined in detail

to understand the intricacies of the activity and the shifts in meaning intended for a particular translation.

Chapter 4 examines the relationship between classical history and the present of 16th- and 17th-century Europe. The chronological distance between the two eras was sometimes perceived as minimal, sometimes as unbridgeable. Some events or interpretations in Tacitus's texts were explicitly rejected as the product of ancient barbarism, while others were considered appropriate to be included among an inventory of facts, deeds, and sayings that could be useful in the present. The customs, rites, currency, military tactics, feasts, and public and religious offices of the ancient Romans were sometimes translated into present-day equivalents and sometimes confined to a finished past. Certain translators tended to identify past and present more closely and made a political statement out of this identification, while others reflected differences between classical and coetaneous times. There were no strict rules on the matter, and translators took strong positions on hotly debated topics that went far beyond the choice of a particular word in the text. The fluctuating relationship between critical distance and useful proximity constitutes an interesting yardstick against which one can measure the uses of the classics in early modern Europe.

Tacitus's texts were highly regarded in early modern Europe for various reasons. Stylistic appreciation for their brevity, obscurity, abundance of axioms, and lessons coexisted with interest in the events narrated – the first Roman emperors, Rome's military campaigns, the barbarians, etc., and the profusion of plots and intrigues throughout Tacitus's works. His readers used the intellectual techniques and practical devices of the moment. In the main, these consisted of close reading and the extraction of commonplaces – *topoi*, or the foundations for rhetorical argument. The epilogue stresses how history was regarded as a storehouse of examples and precepts which, correctly processed and accumulated in an orderly fashion, provided readers with meaningful guides for political action. This bond between history and politics is constantly alluded to in the translations, which in many cases prefigure or openly recommend this kind of reading. Once again, preliminaries as well as annotations and other editorial strategies such as the inclusion of ready-made indices of commonplaces mediate between text and readers and constitute a basic element for understanding the reception of Tacitus.

This brief book is, therefore, both a history of translation and not a history of translation. It analyses the strategies and methods employed in translating Tacitus's texts

into the vernacular languages of early modern Europe, but it also focuses on the characteristics of 16th- and 17th-century political thought as revealed by the marks or signs left in and by the translations. It does not aim to be exhaustive. Rather, it poses a preliminary set of questions. I hope to show that early modern translations of polemical texts such as those studied here were not mere extensions of the original but sharply pointed weapons in a fight for the significance of political activity. They allowed manipulations in the ways texts were perceived and used, and more or less consciously altered their political implications.

1. A European phenomenon

Tacitism in early modern political thought

Tacitus's translations are a peculiar object of study. On the one hand, they can be analysed as a discrete corpus of works; on the other, they are part of the wider reception of Tacitus in early modern Europe. I will try to show here that when they are studied as part of the wider phenomenon, translations help us to reconsider the foundations of what has been called Tacitism, since they offer concrete evidence of the historical peculiarities of the early modern reception of Tacitus and help challenge many of the ideological and philosophical interpretations his works have been subjected to.

It is a complicated task to provide a short, clear definition of "Tacitism", the label under which the literature usually categorizes the most varied uses of Tacitus's texts. At the same time, many historians nevertheless employ the term to refer to supposedly unitary phenomena related, in one way or another, with a diffuse political realism or rationalism. There are several obstacles to reaching a simple definition, but it is appropriate to clarify from the start that the occasions on which Tacitus expressed a political view of the events in his narrative are extremely scarce. The few passages where the "middle path" ideal rises to the surface – where Tacitus discusses the possibilities of action for the virtuous man under the rule of a tyrant – constitute the exception to the norm[26]. In general, Tacitus's political opinion is hard to discern, his texts being ambiguous enough to provide materials both for defenders and opponents of monarchical government[27]. The term Tacitism cannot therefore claim to refer to the original political views of Caius Cornelius Tacitus.

Given the imprecise and elusive nature of Tacitus's texts, most scholars have come to regard these as only a partial component of Tacitism. This has led to very loose definitions, which consider that Tacitism, "as a universal trend in political thought is based on the author of the *Annals*, but other ingredients must be considered: Machiavelli and Machiavellism, Seneca and Neostoicism, not to speak of Christianity and Erasmism". Thus, Tacitus ends up being regarded as "important in the 17th century, but as a catalyst rather than as a new element", and definitions of Tacitism tend to become holistic and imprecise combinations of the varied components enumerated in the first quotation above[28]. Indeed, when Giuseppe Toffanin coined the term in 1921, he added various subdivisions and nuances. Two opposite classes of Tacitism, red and black, were indicators of, respectively, veiled republicanism and occult Machiavellism. More recently, Donald R. Kelley has also stressed this duality,

indicating that "while in their posthumous careers Tacitus and Machiavelli joined forces in their cynical realism, they also cooperated in the republican aspect of the 'Machiavellian moment'"[29]. Many other authors have reproduced these and other qualifications, adding adjectives to the original term. However, the problem does not lie in the existence of different and changing versions of Tacitism; rather it lies in the misunderstanding that reigns within historiography. The habitual use of the term (it can be found in Italian, English, French, German, and Spanish) has promoted a false impression of consensus on the significance of Tacitism. Despite this somehow consolidated use, the positions of scholars are hardly reconcilable.

In order to clarify these varied definitions of Tacitism, I want now to consider in detail the elements they involve. Obviously, the major issue is the term's subsidiary relationship to Machiavellism. Toffanin suggested that Tacitus was a substitute for Niccolò Machiavelli and a cover for political ideas that could not easily be conveyed under the Florentine's name. Tacitism thus constituted "an effort to counterreform Machiavelli's thought" and Tacitus was a species of new "Aristotle without theology"[30]. The Latin author supplied early modern thinkers with the necessary conditions "for understanding natural political phenomena" and for simultaneously "rejecting the error and malignancy of Machiavelli"[31]. This scheme has been reproduced up to the present time. It can be found, for instance, in the work of Charles Davis, who points to Tacitus's reputation in Spain as a "Machiavelli *avant la lettre*", and also in José Luis Sánchez Lora, who considers that Tacitism consists in "being a Machiavellian without looking like one"[32].

Although this identification has proved successful in a number of studies of early modern political thought, the notion that Tacitus is actually present in the works of Niccolò Machiavelli has also been sharply criticised. In a highly detailed article, Kenneth Schellhase denounced the existence of an "*idée fixe* concerning a massive influence of Tacitus in the political thought of Machiavelli"[33]. *The Prince*, Schellhase argued, contained only two quotations from Tacitus – one of which was dubious – and in the *Discourses* Machiavelli used Tacitus mainly to authorise antimonarchical passages. Machiavelli was in fact following the thread of the republican use of Tacitus found in Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio florentine urbis*. In other places, mainly in the *History of Florence*, Tacitus's works were simply used as a source of historical data "without any political efficiency in mind". In fact, Livy, Plutarch, and (especially) Polybius were Machiavelli's "principal mentors", while Tacitus was, according to Schellhase, "by no means as influential in his thinking as the others"[34].

J.H. Whitfield also deployed his expertise to criticise Tacitus's role in Machiavelli's thought. Whitfield detects another dubious quotation of Tacitus in *The Prince* and traces its provenance to Virgil's *Aeneid*. He also indicates that the first six books of the *Annals* were published two years before Machiavelli's work was written in 1513. Regarding the manuscript circulation of Tacitus in Italy, this cannot be considered a crucial point. More important than these clarifications is Whitfield's general framing of Machiavelli's thought in relation to Tacitus. The *Discourses* are ninety-nine percent Livy and only one percent Tacitus, and while Toffanin took "for granted that the restoration of the Medici to Florence in 1512 conformed a '*trionfante principio monarchico*' already established ideally in the mind and heart of Machiavelli", Whitfield considers it necessary "to look at the evidence of Machiavelli's comfort or discomfort in a republican environment"[35].

Several scholars have criticized the bond between Tacitus and Machiavelli together with Toffanin's taste for word games. Both Jürgen von Stackelberg and Kenneth C. Schellhase, for instance, found confusing and insubstantial phrases such as "Tacitists were anti-Machiavellist Machiavellians and Machiavelli the first anti-Tacitist Tacitean"[36]. Criticism also has been aimed at the connection between these authors as it was constructed (or not) by early modern readers. Enrique Tierno Galván hesitated in defining Spanish Tacitism, which he considered a "peculiar attitude, politically probably the most original in this era", as simply "blurred Machiavellism"[37]. Commenting upon the Italian *emigrés* who made use of Tacitus at the court of Henry III of France, Richard Tuck indicated that there is no "evidence at all that they turned to Tacitus as a concealed way of dealing with Machiavelli"[38]. These critics, then, make it sufficiently clear that the somewhat mechanistic connection between Tacitus and Machiavelli and their early modern interpreters cannot be considered the distinctive feature defining Tacitism.

Toffanin linked Tacitus's recovery to the emergence of a new politics, distinct from that of the earlier Renaissance, which he termed "*politica storica*". The crisis of Renaissance politics during the years of the Counter-Reformation was expressed, according to this view, by the "unexpected succession of Titus Livius by Tacitus as a historical model" and by the abandonment of "philosophical politics"[39]. There is wide agreement in locating Tacitism within a "second phase" of early modern political thought, different or even opposed to the first Renaissance. Only Schellhase confines Tacitus's political use to the Renaissance in the strictest sense, arguing that when, in the early 17th century, his works became "readily available in many ver-

nacular as well as Latin editions", they were "already beginning to be shelved as a guide to potential action and as a stimulant to new ideas"[40].

What were the characteristics of this new period? Again, these are too varied to provide a clear-cut definition of Tacitism. According to Richard Tuck, Ciceronianism, which together with a "liberal and moderately constitutional attitude to princely power" had been the "dominant approach to politics", was replaced in the 1570s with a "new kind of humanism". Cicero – note that for Toffanin the precedent model was Livy – was thus replaced with "the stylistically and morally objectionable figure of Tacitus". This alternative entailed a considerable dose of scepticism and therefore represented, as well, a departure from Machiavelli. Tacitus was chosen because he was the most "sceptical and disenchanted commentator on political events"[41]. Other scholars habitually identify this new period by referring to the rise of reason of state, considering that "the commentaries on him [Tacitus] were in effect a parallel genre to the reason-of-state literature" which "flourished at much the same time, c. 1580- c. 1680"[42]. This does not contribute much to clarify the basic traits of Tacitism, since the disputed nature of this new trend in European political thought tends to obscure even more the distinctive characteristics of Tacitus's reception.

Morris W. Croll, who linked opposition to the Ciceronian style to the "growth of scientific and positive rationalism", first highlighted the stylistic foundations of this political shift. For Croll, it was also in the generation after Machiavelli and Guicciardini, i.e. in the later Renaissance, that the "acute and sceptical method, reinforced by a new study of Tacitus, was to prove the chief instrument of one of the most radical movements in the history of modern rationalism"[43]. This is the principal issue in many studies of Spanish Tacitism, which exemplify well the association of Tacitism with scientific politics – rationalist and empiricist – and even with the development of modern science proper. Two and a half decades before Croll's theses, Tierno Galván stated that the main attribute of Spanish Tacitism was "the debate around whether politics is a science or an art", and he specified that Tacitists "tried to construct a rigorous political science, discovered the method, and reduced the ethical questions to the internal realm, to the problematic of the individual". Ethics were thus separated from matters of state, "which are of another nature and pertain to a different sphere with a technique of their own"[44]. José Antonio Maravall contextualized Tacitism in the quarrel between faith and reason that in his view explained the evolution of 17th-century Spanish political thought: Tacitus represented "bare natural reason, interrogating political reality with acute intelligence". Once he provides this overarching epistemological framework, Maravall indicates

that the Latin author lacked revealed knowledge but nonetheless became a useful tool for anti-Machiavellians for understanding natural political phenomena[45].

In the 1980s and 1990s, in his analysis of Spanish thought, José Antonio Fernández Santamaría returned to the debate regarding the scientific character of politics. He employed a series of dichotomies opposing "ethicist" to "realist" authors, and within this last group – implicitly considered as modern – "scientific" to "empiricist" ones. One of the most distinctive features of realist thought was a particular concept of "experience", which "emerged gradually, closely bound to the emergence of Tacitism" and consisted in "a complex of systematic knowledge derived from the individual experience of past statesmen" and "registered in history"[46]. Following Maravall, Tacitism appears here to be part of the phenomenon of political realism, but its particular characteristics are not defined in precise terms and consequently end up being dissolved in a general thesis on the nature of Spanish baroque thought.

Tacitus's role in the development of a new model of political thought is, in sum, not much clearer than the alleged bond between him and Machiavelli. It is not easy to offer a description of Tacitism in a few words, probably because such a definition does not exist. André Stegmann stated the need to pay attention to the varying contexts in which each Tacitist work was generated and to consider the sources, the ideological position, the attitude towards power, and the concept of state of each author. Otherwise, one struggles to give a comprehensive definition of Tacitism that easily becomes, as Stegmann's finally did, over-philosophical[47].

I doubt that future scholarship will find a consensual, straightforward definition of the term. In fact, one might ask whether this quest is historical at all, or whether it just tries to impose fixed categories onto an overwhelmingly varied reality. Several of the studies already mentioned prove much more fruitful when, instead of trying to define Tacitism as an ideological current, they concentrate on explaining the popularity of Tacitus. Why did his texts arouse so much interest in early modern Europe? Why was this author preferred to others? In what manner did he contribute to early modern political thought? Historians' answers to these questions are relatively similar.

In the first place, Caius Cornelius Tacitus was an author who maintained "the prestige of Latin antiquity"[48] and benefited from "his status as a classic, without the original sin of modern political rivalries"[49]. Second, stylistic considerations are alluded to. For the most part, these suggestions follow Croll's thesis, though historians such as Peter Burke have argued that the new "naked and clear" way of speaking commonly associated with the rise of modern science is "an ideal as opposed to Taci-

tus as ever to Cicero"[50]. The third element habitually mentioned is the value of his historical narrative, which stands out for his "interest in causes and motives and his penetrating analyses of them"[51]. Others highlight the internal logic and deductive patterns in his historical pieces. For Maravall, for instance, interest in Tacitus can be explained by his attachment to the "natural level of experience", his "intelligent technique of observation", and his "frequent use of an inductive method"[52].

Tacitus's "psychologism"– or "experimentalist psychologism" in Tierno Galván's account[53] – is worth mentioning separately. Tacitus dealt with the morality and ethics of Tiberius and Nero in ways that resonated with early modern readers. His interest "in the motives and standards of his characters, as well as his own moral judgments on them" account for his early modern fame, in Burke's opinion[54]. Maravall suggested that the esteem in which Tacitus was held had to do with the fact that the Latin historian "converted history into an experimental field" in contrast with bygone humanists who situated their historiographic task on a "terrain of rhetorical exercises". The latter had sought moral exemplarity, which lost its attraction[55].

All four of these features – ancient status, style, interest in causes and motives, and psychologism – inevitably are intertwined. Perhaps this mixture is best exemplified by the ways in which the perceived sharpness of Tacitus's works were linked to their stylistic characteristics. The epigrammatic end of many of his paragraphs, to mention one example, is most suitable for building aphorisms. In early modern Europe these final, enigmatic, and thought-provoking sentences were considered both as special kinds of norms or reasons and as poetic distillations of the highest literary quality. The fifth and most important characteristic that explains the vogue for Tacitus in the 16th and 17th centuries – his contribution to politics or to political science – is also a component of this mixture.

It would be impossible to mention the many authors who regard Tacitus as a "teacher" or "master" of politics in early modern Europe. For Burke there was an intrinsic explanation for this political interest in Tacitus. In the 16th and 17th centuries "there was a search for rules or laws not in the moral but in the scientific sense; for generalizations about actual political behaviour", and "Tacitus provided such generalizations". However, Burke did not ignore that this search can only with great difficulty be assimilated to scientific research, and he showed that the rise of actual scientific standards doomed Tacitism[56]. Richard Tuck offered a more complex vision of a world which "consisted of men who were acutely aware of the power of psychological and rhetorical manipulation, both for good and ill, and who were far

from confident that there were any straightforward moral principles to guide the exercise of those powers other than the basic needs of physical or political survival"[57].

There is ample consensus among historians that Tacitus's fame is the result of his providing tools for understanding and acting in the face of concrete political events. According to Maravall, Tacitus's validity and pertinence for the "actual politics" of the 17th-century Spain rests on "its adaptability to the problems of a monarchy surrounded by difficulties"[58]. Burke expands this adequacy to a wider context. The "enthusiasm for Tacitus", Burke indicates, "coincides approximately with the age of religious wars in Europe, 1559-1648, and with the longer-term rise of courts and of absolute monarchy. Tacitus described a period of civil war, and emperors with unlimited power; he was also interested in dissimulation, a skill necessary for those who want to survive, let alone prosper, at court or in states ruled under the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*"[59]. While Burke affirms that "reason of state and Tacitism offered rulers and their counsellors advice on dealing with the extraordinary problems of the times"[60], Tuck underscores both Tacitus's suitability for explaining French politics in the 1570s and his relevance in Florentine politics of the next decade[61]. A century later, Tacitus could be adapted, seemingly as closely as before, to British political reality: "His emphasis on deceit and indirection, his suspicion of political motives, his warnings against arbitrary power, his arraignment of courtly hypocrisy and greed: all could be turned against the Revolution and the regime of William III"[62].

The supposed connection between Tacitus and the historical events of early modern Europe is by far the most puzzling facet of Tacitus's reception. At first glance, one might naively conclude that his imperial histories naturally possessed special connections with 16th- and 17th-century events. But what the multiplicity of valid contexts in fact reveals is that Tacitus's applicability depended to a great extent on readers' abilities to generate parallels between the classical text and a given historical moment. Texts may embody such possibilities, but the final parallels and applications are the fruit only of a reception process in which historically determined readers actively intervene in the construction of meaning. Translations show with special intensity how this process, by which meaning is created, functioned. Changes in syntax or vocabulary do not reflect only the participation of the target culture in the rendering of the original text. Often, additions and alterations to the original text are key strategies that enable comparison between the events of the text and the present and that promote a certain political meaning. Vernacular translations – much more frequently than Latin editions – offer explicit comparisons between past and present. In some cases, the whole underlying project of a translation can be described as political.

Historians' explanations for Tacitus's fame generally reproduce the intentions outlined in early modern prefaces, preliminaries, or comments to his texts. Sometimes, to be true, these are recast in a modern light – this is especially visible in the use of the term psychologism – but for the most part historians have attributed to Tacitus's works the characteristics that early modern interpreters found in them. Their research has been partly misguided as a result of omitting an analysis of the interpretive activity of Tacitus's readers. Tacitus's text was composed fifteen centuries before his early modern success, and its original purposes – or the author's intentions – cannot still have been alive.

José Sanmartí Boncompte's philologically oriented view of Tacitus's reception in early modern Europe enables us to recover a surprising factor in this story. To Sanmartí, those who took Tacitus "as a political oracle could not in any manner be precise, because they contemplated him from a point of view totally out of focus". He categorically terms Tacitus first as an artist, and only second as a historian. Only as a result of an explicit desire to interpret Tacitus as a politician did he become one. Emphasizing again his point, Sanmartí adds that "analyzing Tacitus from an objective point of view, he contributes very little to political science". Had Tacitus's intentions been to write a treatise on political matters he would not have composed dramatic history. Instead, he "would have chosen a literary genre that allowed him to express his thoughts more clearly and exactly"[63].

To solve this dilemma, we must understand how early modern readers interpreted what the Latin author was saying. This includes analysing the connections between past and present and the political uses attributed to Tacitus's texts, but also investigating what made these connections possible. As Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton indicated in a seminal article, connections between classical texts and political thought or practice is not unexpected, "it is the *nature* of the connection which is surprising (its methodical character, its persistence as an emphasis in scholarly reading, the seriousness with which 'reading' was treated by those active in the political arena)"[64]. The study of Tacitus's translations reveals many of the tools and methods used to read and interpret classical texts. While Latin editions probably were the origin of most political interpretations of Tacitus, translations often are more explicit in their purposes and provide more clues about the relationship between original and target culture. Translations, and even free adaptations, have to explain the relationship with the original text. Also, they serve as vehicles for interpretations and ideas first conceived for a more restricted audience, and they contribute to the creation of shared patterns of reception throughout Europe. In short, given the chronological span that separates Tacitus's original audience and his early

modern public, we should consider whether his texts were not merely translated but prepared for new readers.

Catalogue

It is relatively difficult to establish a catalogue of Tacitus's translations in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first problem is bibliographic. It is complicated to identify slightly different editions that are not always catalogued as such (catalogues often concentrate on the text, not on preliminaries and added material). I have indicated which re-editions I have found, and I provide references to other re-editions in the footnotes, but, of course, my present catalogue cannot resolve all these doubts. A second difficulty lies in establishing a catalogue of manuscript translations of Tacitus, whose circulation could have been very intense[65]. A third, significant challenge is posed by the free or "open regime" of translation that existed in early modern Europe. Works described on title pages as translations very often omit or add passages, changing and adapting the text[66]. An extreme example is the 1715 *Tacito portuguez*, which mixes the translation of the original with so many comments, digressions, and paraphrases that it is practically impossible to identify the Latin text. But even Savile's erudite version was preceded by a historical supplement written by the translator. Finally, one should be aware that in the 16th and 17th centuries many derivative works – commentaries, annotations, discourses, aphorisms, etc. – were highly influential in the reception process. These kinds of works, together with imitations of certain passages or veiled allusions, also were produced in the vernacular. Clearly, these cannot be considered translations, but they allowed Tacitus's texts to reach into many contexts, though to what extent is difficult to ascertain precisely.

A related problem is to assess the importance of Tacitus's translations. This can be done only by reference to other translated works, but it is difficult to quantify early modern translations in an exact manner. Employing the data compiled by Franz L. A. Schweiger in his *Handbuch der classischen Bibliographie* and other bibliographic sources such as Antonio Palau's *Manual del librero Hispano-Americano*, Peter Burke identified 164 editions of Tacitus's *Germania*, 109 in Latin and 56 in the vernacular, and 152 of the *Annals* and *Histories*, 75 of them in Latin and 80 in vernacular (bilingual editions account for the slight difference in the totals). Compared to other ancient historians, Tacitus's works therefore were the most popular in the period 1600-1650[67]. Burke also identified 33 French editions, 21 in Italian, and seven in English (counting only editions and re-editions of complete works, since he found

no separate edition of the *Germania* published in translation)[68]. Jacob Soll raised the total number of French vernacular editions of Tacitus between 1582 and 1694 to 63. These were the result of 15 different French translations[69].

Examining the period 1476-1792, Burke recently indicated that out of 274 translations of 25 ancient historians, Tacitus was the most popular, with 28. He was followed by Josephus (26), Sallust (21), Caesar (18), Curtius (15), Xenophon (14), Justinus (12), Thucydides (11), Polybius (11), and Diodorus Siculus (11)[70]. English data obtained by David Womersley partially confirm the general trend. According to him, Savile's translation ranked very high in number and frequency of re-edition. During the 17th century it was the second-most frequently re-edited work (first was Thomas Lodge's translation of Josephus) and the third by number of re-editions (behind Lodge's and John Brende's translation of Quintus Curtius)[71].

These are valuable indications, but bibliographic data remain difficult to interpret. We do not have evidence of the number of copies produced of each of these editions, and therefore we can only assume that the larger the number of editions, the more popular the author. Some editions, however, may have had very limited circulation or may have been printed in small numbers. It may not seem much to say that Tacitus's works were popular at a European level and that this popularity extended over time. The general numbers also indicate important contrasts, both in number and in frequency of translation, between France and Italy on the one hand and other countries, for instance Spain, on the other, but this may be telling us that French and Italian translations were used in other countries. With the following catalogue, I try to give a general picture of Tacitus's translations in the 16th and 17th centuries. I try to reflect as many editions as possible, but this is not a bibliographic catalogue, as my focus is not books but rather translations. The translations are listed by place of publication in chronological order, and I also have indicated reprints and main variants for each translation. I have elaborated the list on the basis of personal research but have sometimes turned to previous catalogues, especially those by Jürgen von Stackelberg and Charles Louis Panckoucke[72].

Translations published in Italy

- *Le historie avgvste di Cornelio Tacito, nouellamente fatte italiane*, Venice, Vicenzo Vaugris, 1544. Anonymous translation.
- *Gli annali di Cornelio Tacito... nuouamente tradotti da Giorgio Dati*, Venice, ad instantia de Giunti di Firenze, per Domenico Guerra e Gio. Battista suo fratello, 1563. Trans. Gior-

gio Dati. Re-edited in Venice, Bernardo Giunti e fratelli, 1582; Venice, Bernardo Giunti, 1598; Venice, Giovanni Alberti, 1598; and Venice, Giovanni Alberti, 1607.

- *Il primo libro degl'Annali di Gaio Cornelio Tacito da Bernardo Dauanzati Bostichi espresso in volgare fiorentino. Per dimostrare quanto questo parlare sia breue e arguto*, Florence, Georgio Marescotti, 1596. Trans. Bernardo Davanzati. Re-edited as *L'imperio di Tiberio Cesare, scritto da Tacito negli Annali,* Florence, Filippo Giunti, 1600.
- *Annali et istorie di Cornelio Tacito tradotte nuovamente in vulgare toscano publicate da Paolino Arnolfini ad instanza del r.m. Horatio Giannetti da Siena*, Rome, Luigi Zanetti, 1603. Translation by Adriano Politi. Re-edited in Venice, Roberto Meglietti, 1604; Rome, Gio. Angelo Ruffinelli, 1611; Venice, Roberto Meglietti, 1611; and Venice, Roberto Meglietti, 1616.
- Politi's translation was also issued in *Opere di G. Cornelio Tacito. Annali, Historie, Costumi de'Germani e Vita di Agricola, illustrate con... aforismi del Sig. D. Baldassar' Alamo Varienti, trasportati dalla lingua castigliana nella toscana, da D. Girolamo Canini d'Anghiari*. Venice, I Giunti, 1618. Re-edited in Venice, I Giunti, 1620; Venice, I Giunti, 1628; Venice, heredi di Tomaso Giunti, e Francesco Baba, 1644; and Venice, Paolo Baglioni, 1665.
- *La vita di Giulio Agricola scritta da G. Cornelio Tacito colla traduzione di Cristoforo Rosario in lingua toscana*, Rome, per l'erede di Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1625. Trans. Cristoforo Rosario.

Manuscripts

- *Agricola* and *Germania*, c. 1600. Trans. Curzio Pichena, Mss. Magliab. XXIII, 146, Biblioteca Nazionale de Firenze[73].
- Notice of manuscript translation of *Agricola*, c. 1600, by Giulio Cesare Beccelli[74].

France

- *Les cinq premiers livres des Annales de P. Cornelivs Tacitvs, chevalier romain & tresexcellent historiographe; traduictz nouuellement de Latin en Francoys*, Paris, Vincent Sertenas, 1548. Trans. Étienne de la Planche[75].
- *La vie de Jules Agricola*, n.p., n.d. (dedication dated 1574). Trans. Ange Cappel.
- *Le traicté de Cicéron de la meilleure forme d'orateurs, le sixième livre des Commentaires de Caesar..., et la Germanie de Cornelius Tacitus*, Paris 1575. Trans. Blaise de Vigenère[76].
- *Discours excellent auquel est contenu l'assiete de toute l'Alemaigne, les moeurs, les coustumes, et façon de faire les habitans en icelle*, Paris 1580. Trans. Claude Guillemot (dedication dated 1551)[77].

- *Les Oeuvres de C. Cornelius Tacitus*, Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1582. Trans. Claude Fauchet and Étienne de la Planche. Re-edited in Paris, Abel l'Angelier, 1584; and Geneva, héritiers d' Eustache Vignon, 1594 (revised version by Pyramus de Candolle)[78].
- *Les Oeuvres de C. Cornelius Tacitus, chevalier Romain*, Paris, Marc Orry, 1599. Trans. P. D. B.
- *Les oeuvres de C. Cornelius Tacitus et Velleius Paterculus*, Paris, Jean Gesselin, 1610. Trans. Jean Baudoin. Re-edited in an extended form as *Les Oeuvres [...] avec des Discours politiques tirez des principales maximes de l'autheur [by Scipion Ammirato]*, Paris, Jean Richer, 1619 and Paris, E. Richer, 1628.
- *Observations politiques, topographiques et historiques sur Tacite*, Paris, Antoyne Estienne, 1613. Trans. François de Carrigny sieur du Colomby. Partial translation of *Annals I*.
- *Le Tibère françois, ou les Six premiers livres des Annales*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1616. Trans. Rodolphe Le Maistre[79].
- *La Vie et l'empire de S. Galba*, Paris, A. Pacard, 1619. Trans. Rodolphe Le Maistre.
- Marie de Jars de Gournay, *Versions de quelques pieces de Virgile, Tacite, et Saluste, avec l'Institution de monseigneur frere unique du roy. A Sa Majesté. Par la damoiselle de Gournay*, Paris, Fleury Bourriquant, 1619. Translation of fragments.
- *Les Oeuvres de C. Cornelius Tacitus, traduction nouvelle par Rodolphe Le Maistre... avec plusieurs supplemens requis à la suytte de l'Histoire et Annotations*, Paris, Claude Cramoisy, 1627. Trans. Rodolphe Le Maistre.
- *Des causes de la corruption de l'eloquence*, Paris, Charles Chappelain, 1630. Trans. Louis Giry. Re-edited in Paris, J. Camusat, 1636.
- *Les Oeuvres de C. Cornelius Tacitus, traduction nouvelle par Rodolphe Le Maistre Augmentée des six derniers livres des Annales, de Supplemens & Annotations, & enrichie de plusieurs Figures*, Paris, Jacques Dugast, 1636. Trans. Rodolphe Le Maistre. Re-edited in Rouen, Jean Berthelin, 1650.
- *De la Vie d'Agricola, son beau-père*, Paris, Jean Camusat, 1639. Trans. Ithier Hobier.
- *Les Annales de Tacite. Première Partie. Contenant la vie de Tibère*, Paris, Jean Camusat, 1640. Trans. Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt. Re-edited in Paris, Chez la Veuve Jean Camusat, 1643; Paris, Chez La Veuve Iean Camusat & Pierre le Petit, 1650.
- *Les Oeuvres de C. Corneille Tacite, traduites de latin en françois*, Paris, La Veuve Jean Camusat et Pierre Petit, 1644. Trans. Achille de Harlay de Chanvalon[80].
- *La Germanie de Tacite, avec la Vie d'Agricola*, Paris, Veuve Jean Camusat et P. Le Petit, 1646. Trans. Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt.
- *Annales de Tacite. Seconde partie. Contenant les Regnes de Claudius & de Neron*, Paris, Chez La Veuve Jean Camusat & Pierre le Petit, 1651. Trans. Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt[81].

- Complete works of Tacitus in the translation by Perrot d'Ablancourt were re-edited in: Paris, Augustin Courbé, 1658; Rouen and Paris, Jolly, 1665; Amsterdam, Ravesteyn, 1670; Paris, Simon Bernard, 1672; Paris, Jolly, 1674 (3 vols.); Paris, Charles Osmont, 1688 (3 vols.); and Amsterdam, Andre De Hoogenhuysen, 1691 (2 vols.)[82].
- *Tacite avec des notes politiques et historiques par Amelot de la Houssaie*, Paris, Jean Boudot, 1690. Trans. Abraham-Nicolas Amelot de la Houssaye. Re-edited in The Hague, Henry von Bulderen, 1692.

England

- *La vita di Giulio Agricola*, London, Gouanni [sic] Wolfio, 1585. Italian Trans. Giovanni Maria Manelli.
- *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba. Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The Life of Agricola*, Oxford, Ioseph Barnes [and R. Robinson, London] for Richard Wright, 1591. Trans. Henry Savile.
- *The annales of Cornelius Tacitus. The description of Germanie*, London, Arn. Hatfield, for Bonham and Iohn Norton, 1598. Trans. Richard Greenwey. This edition included Savile's translation. Both works were re-edited together again in London, Arnold Hatfield for Iohn Norton, 1604; London, Iohn Bill, 1622, and London, John Legat for Richard Whitaker, 1640[83].
- *The annals and history of Cornelius Tacitus his account of the antient Germans, and the life of Agricola made English by several hands; with the political reflecions and historical notes of Monsieur Amelot De La Houssay and the learned Sir Henry Savile*, London, Matthew Gillyflower, 1698. Trans. John Dryden *et alii*.

Spain

- *Las obras de Cornelio Tácito traducidas de latin en castellano por Emanvel Sveyro*, Antwerp, Herederos de Pedro Bellero, 1613. Trans. Emanuel Sueyro. Re-edited in Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Martín, a costa de Domingo Gonçalez, 1614; and Antwerp, Pedro and Juan Bellero, 1619.
- *Tácito español ilustrado con aforismos*, Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1614. Trans. Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos.
- *Los cinco primeros libros de los Anales*, Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1615. Trans. Antonio de Herrera.
- *Obras de Caio Cornelio Tacito*, Douai, M[arc] Wyon, 1629. Trans. Carlos Coloma.

Manuscripts

- *Libro 1º de los Anales de C Cornelio Tacito commenzando desde la muerte de Augusto Cessar traducidos en bulgar castellano por Antonio de Toledo*, 1590. Trans. Antonio de Toledo,

Mss. Madrid, Library of the Royal Palace, II/1438 (1) and Royal Academy of History Mss. G.53 9/500.

- Notices of manuscript translations by Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and Miguel Climent Gurrea[84].

Netherlands[85]

- *De hoochberoemde historien van C. Cornelius Tacitus*, Delft, 1616. Trans. Johannes Fenacolius[86].
- *D'Ovrige Werken van Gaius Cornelius Tacitus Romeinscher Geschiednissen onder d'eerste Keyser*, Delft, Adriaen Gerritsen, 1630. Trans. J. van Groenewegen.
- *De jaarboeken en historien, Germanien en het leven van Agricola, in het hollandsch vertaalt door P. Corneliszoon Hooft*, Amsterdam, 1680. Trans Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft; Re-edited in Amsterdam, Hendrik Boom en de Weduwe van Dirk Boom, 1684; Amsterdam-Leiden-Utrecht, Hendrik Wetstein en Pieter Scepérus, Daniel van den Dalen, Willem van de Water, 1704[87].

Germany

- *Der Roemischen Keyser Historien: von dem abgang des Augusti an biß auff Titum und Vespasianum*, Mainz, Ivo Schöffer, 1535. Trans. Jakob Micyllus. Re-edited in a bilingual edition *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera Latina: Cvm Versione Germanica Iacobi Micylli*, Frankfurt, Nicolavs Hoffmannvs, sumptibus Ionae Rosae, 1612.
- *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera Latina: Cum Versione Gallica Estienne de la Plance & Claude Fauchet*, Frankfurt, Nicolaus Hofmannus, sumptibus Ionae Rhodii, 1612.
- *C. Cornelii Taciti Opera Latina: Cum Versione Italica Georgii Dati*, Frankfurt, Nicolaus Hofmannus, sumptibus Ionae Rhodii, 1612.
- *Des fürtrefflichen Weltweisen Römers Cornelii Taciti Historischer Beschreibung. In verständtlicher Hoch Teutscher Sprach in Druck geben Durch Ludovicum Kepplerum...* Linz, Blanckh, 1625. Trans. Johannes Kepler.
- *Des C. Corn. Tacitus Beschreibung 1. Etlicher der ersten Römischen Keiser und anderer denkwürdiger Geschichte ... 2. Der Teutschen - Völcker Ursprunges ... 3. Der Römer weiland in Engel- und Schotlande geführten Kriege: unter dem Titel; Von des Agricolä Leben und Thaten*, Frankfurt, Anton Humm and Georg Müller, 1657. Trans. Carl Melchior Grotnizen von Grodnau. Reedited in Frankfurt, Georg Müller, 1675; and Nuremberg, Martin Endter, 1696.

Manuscripts

- *Ein zamengelesen büchlin von der Teutschen Nation gelengenheit Sitten und gebrauche durch Cornelium Tacitum und etliche andere verzeichnet*. Trans. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg,

notes and glosses –"Comentariolus vetusta populorum vocabula paucis explicans"– by Glareans [pseudonym of Beatus Rhenanus], 1526[88].

Portugal

- *Tacito portuguez, ou traducçam politica dos tres primeyros livros dos annaes di Cornelio Tacito. Illustrados con varias ponderaçoens que serven à comprehensaõ assim da Historia como da Politica*, Lisbon, Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1715. Trans. Félix Luís do Couto.

Manuscripts

- Notices of manuscript translations by Fernão Lopes de Milão (1604), and Manoel Correa[89].

Connected Europe

As this catalogue clearly indicates, the reception of Tacitus was a European phenomenon. Previous studies have tended to neglect this European dimension or simply juxtaposed references to editions, translations, and commentaries in several countries without considering the bonds that linked them. Translations of Tacitus's texts are, in the first place, related to each other by their utilization of Lipsius's Latin text. Second, although many translators tried to convince their readers that they had produced their versions in an isolated atmosphere, there is evidence that they very often had knowledge of a number of previous versions, which were used to produce new translations. Third, comparative editions and critical studies of different versions constitute a special case of these intellectual connections.

Tacitus's translations are also interconnected on a different, more general, level. Prefaces to translations, as well as official approbations, privileges, and licences, frequently contain allusions to the European political context. They also transmit opinions on the influence that Tacitus exercised on this panorama. The same applies to commentaries, aphorisms, and other derivative works. Envisaged as descriptions of the European intellectual sphere, Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* and similar works also articulated images of European politics with reference to Tacitus's reception and to translations into vernacular languages. As I will show, such comments offer valuable insight into contemporary perceptions of reciprocal political influences in early modern Europe.

Lipsius's edition – corrected text, notes, and the preliminary materials containing or actively promoting certain interpretations of Tacitus – constitutes a first and foremost point of contact. Although some translations indicate the use of other Latin editions, Lipsius's influence cannot be overstated. The Lipsian (and other major)

editions were based on a great deal of collaboration on a European level. Editors sometimes acknowledged their predecessors but more often minimized or even concealed the extent of collaboration or inspiration they had received. But these connections extended over time and continued after publication. They included borrowing or gaining access to copies of important manuscripts, use of previous editions, and many polemical confrontations on philological interpretations of corrupt passages. The Republic of Letters even provided a framework for connecting Latin editors with vernacular translators. One example of this is Lipsius's correspondence with the Portuguese scholar Fernão Lopes de Milão, who in 1604 asked for help in interpreting passages for his translation of Tacitus into Portuguese (now lost)[90].

In contrast with competitive Latinists, translators willingly recognized their debt to Lipsius's editions. Henry Savile used the first Lipsian edition "in 8. Apud Plantinum. 1574" to produce his English translation, a fact openly indicated in his "note on the editions used". Other translators went beyond Savile's acknowledgement and praised Lipsius as the promoter, at a European level, of Tacitus. In the dedication to his 1615 translation, the Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera declared that "after spending a very large period of time in the darkness of oblivion", Tacitus was at that moment esteemed as the most important of ancient historians. To this, he added that if Tacitus "has been received by all the learned nations" this was to be attributed to "the diligence of Justus Lipsius"[91]. Adriano Politi indicated that he followed most of Lipsius's corrections and conjectures except for a few cases in which he used the "vulgate reading"[92]. In his preface to Politi's Italian translation of 1604, Horatio Gianetti repeatedly alluded to the authority of Lipsius, whom he singled out as the "true Aristarchus of our time" and the most important commentator of Tacitus[93]. Widespread admiration for Lipsius even became a constraint for Carlos Coloma, who felt obliged to include in his translation the disconnected fragments found at the abrupt end of *Annals* V and included in Lipsian editions in order not to contradict Lipsius's authority[94].

Translations did not only use the smoothly corrected Latin text. Many additional materials in Lipsian editions – his biography of Tacitus, extracts of ancient authors mentioning Tacitus, schemas of imperial lineages, chapter abstracts, etc. – were incorporated into vernacular translations. Lipsius also produced an influential portrait of Tacitus in his notes to the *Politicorum libri sex* of 1589, which also was widely used[95]. Tacitus was to a great extent read through those descriptions, which proclaimed the utility of his works. When translators throughout Europe used Lipsian editions, they helped propagate conceptions about the contents and utility of Tacitus that very often shaped the reader's first contact with the text.

European connections are easily detected, in the second place, by comparing different vernacular editions. They featured the language of personal rivalry typical of all European philological disputes but added an element lacking in the Latin editions: national rivalry. It has been argued that "cultural nationalism" was an important motive for vernacular translations[96]. Francis Otto Matthiesen emphatically characterized the translator's work as "an act of patriotism"[97]. Miguel Ángel Vega insisted on this idea, indicating that "with the beginnings of Humanism, the influence of classical translations on the formation of new languages turned translation into a political matter"[98]. This explains efforts to protect the target language and culture – especially religious values – and to promote, rather than mere translations, the Englishizing or *verdeutschung* of the original.

Attempts to incorporate the original Latin into the target culture are evident in the work of Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, who titled his translation *Tacito español*. The dedication to Philip III's favourite, the Duke of Lerma, expressed the purported recontextualization of the author within a Spanish environment, as Álamos explained to the dedicatee that he was being offered "Tacitus made Spanish"[99]. A *Tacite François* was published by René de Ceriziers. The work had little to do with Tacitus except that its title suggested equivalence between his works and the summary account of French history contained in Ceriziers's book. Relatively successful, the work was subsequently translated into Italian and German in the 17th century[100]. Two *Tacito Portuguez* also were written during the early modern period. The one by Francisco Manoel de Melo remained in manuscript and contained a detailed history of the Portuguese royal house of Braganza with incisive remarks on the machinations of personages at the court. The other *Portuguese Tacitus* was a heavily modified and supplemented translation of the three first books of the *Annals*[101].

Occasionally, linguistic awareness led to direct confrontations between scholars who fought to demonstrate the superiority of one vernacular over another. Francisco de Quevedo, the famous poet and satirist, defended Spanish translations in a polemical pamphlet composed in 1609. In *España defendida y los tiempos de ahora* he stated, with a typically quarrelsome attitude, that in Spain there were as many books on any subject as in all other countries, and he referred to books in the Spanish language "into which all Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French, and Italian books are translated". Quevedo was proud to present the Spanish version of Cornelius Tacitus "rich with the commentaries and translation of Baltasar de Álamos" as capable of shaming Lipsius and the rest of commentators[102]. Comparing the French version by Blaise de Vignère to Giorgio Dati's Italian, Henri Estienne was proud to state that

French was more capable of expressing the brevity of the original Latin[103]. Jürgen von Stackelberg noted that Bernardo Davanzati responded to the French critic by producing a shorter translation. Indeed, Davanzati claimed he only used nine signatures of paper to print the first six books of the *Annals* whereas Tacitus's original needed ten[104].

References to translations into other languages were not always driven by nationalist polemics. In 1612, Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios grudgingly approved Emanuel Sueyro's translation, published in Antwerp in 1613. He had openly criticized Tacitus in a previous work, but now yielded to its publication in Spanish. He hid behind the fact that "it has always been permitted to read [Tacitus] in the Latin, French, and Italian languages, and the translator has not added anything against faith or good customs"[105]. Antonio de Herrera, however, alluded to the delay in the publication of a Spanish version of Tacitus from the opposite point of view. He said Tacitus had already "been received by all learned nations" because they "wanted to see him in their own language" and he lamented that "Spaniards have been the last ones, and not because we had less need"[106]. The French translator Ithier Hobier showed in his preface to *Agricola* that he was acquainted with many translations as well as with other editorial novelties around Tacitus – notably Filippo Cavriana's and Scipione Ammirato's *Discorsi*[107]. Tacitus, Hobier said, had already been translated into French several times, and into Italian by Dati, Politi, and Davanzati. He also acknowledged three Spanish translations, by Álamos, Sueyro, and Coloma; Hobier identified Coloma as a counselor of state and ambassador, implicitly indicating the importance of Tacitus's texts. Hobier has in mind a European framework but does not express a categorical opinion on the process of reception. Instead, he concludes that "the multitude of versions in diverse languages aptly demonstrates that [Tacitus] can be handled in more than one manner"[108].

Despite these perceived linkages in the reception of Tacitus, the use of some works was territorially limited. Schellhase has shown that in England, Tacitus's *Agricola* "gratified a certain national vanity" and that the same occurred with the *Germania* in the German Empire[109]. The valuable, local information about ancient Britain and Germany in these works meant they were applied independently to national and regional histories. But it was not only their value as historical sources that prompted localized uses of Tacitus's texts; Donald Kelley has shown that the *Germania* was used for anti-Roman purposes in the Empire. Andreas Althamerus, for example, drew from Tacitus the materials and inspiration needed "for the scholarly resurrection of the German past and for the Protestant effort to purge the German nation of

Romanist contamination so as to achieve what commentators on Tacitus celebrated as *Libertas Germaniae*"[110].

The revolt against Spanish dominion in the Netherlands forged a mythical interpretation of the Batavians, who defended their liberty against the Roman Empire and were mentioned by classical authors such as Tacitus. Hugo Grotius's *Liber de Antiquitate Reipublicae Batavicae*, published in 1610, is a good example of a tradition that originated at the end of the 15th century but was greatly reinforced after the rediscovery and reception of *Germania*[111]. Lipsius himself played an important part in this tradition, dedicating his notes on the *Annals* to the "Batavian senate" in 1581 and, in a lecture in Jena in the early 1570s, pointing to the usefulness of Tacitus in interpreting political events[112]. Implicitly – and here lies the force of the political implications – this particular Dutch use of Tacitus's texts was inserted as well within a European framework in which the Spanish monarchy was identified with the Roman Empire.

Despite particular uses, overall connections indicate that Tacitus's reception not only took place in most European countries during the same time period but also that contemporaries perceived it as a European phenomenon. In 1682, the massive French version conceived for the education of the dauphin included a note on previous translations by the Florentine Davanzati, Ablancourt "of the French academy", the "most learned" Savile, Álamos – erroneously identified as preceptor of Philip IV of Spain – and Freinsheim, whose mention may be related to his job as librarian of Queen Christina of Sweden[113]. Implicitly, the note suggested that other European royal houses were well acquainted with Tacitus. Some translators interpreted efforts to bring Tacitus's texts into the vernacular in similarly political terms. One of those was Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt, who produced his innovative French version between 1640 and 1650. For him, Tacitus not only had been translated into all languages and appreciated by all peoples, he also had "given birth to all of Spanish and Italian politics"[114].

Multilingual translations – actual exercises in comparison – illustrate connections beyond mere knowledge of the literary panorama of foreign countries. The purposes that motivated them were philological, erudite, and political, but the two multilingual editions by Girolamo Canini and Johann Freinsheim show as well the manner in which these comparisons were rooted in early modern reading techniques. In these two rare testimonies of the European scope of Tacitus's reception, both editors show their knowledge of different versions, the efforts they made to gain access to

those books, the relevance they attributed to them, and the ways in which they used them. The final product constitutes an important contribution to the perception of Tacitus's reception as a European phenomenon.

Girolamo Canini, about whom little is known, worked as a translator of historical and political works and composed several collections of aphorisms. In 1618, he took Adriano Politi's Italian translation together with materials from Lipsius, Álamos, and others and produced a complex edition of Tacitus. Quickly reissued in 1620, the second edition included a fivefold *Confronti*, a comparison of the "most thorny passages" of the original Latin text with translations by Claude Fauchet and Étienne de la Planche (in French), Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos (in Spanish), the anonymous Italian translation, and the one by Giorgio Dati. Canini's bulky book enjoyed considerable success, and it was printed again in 1628, 1644 – when the printer claimed he had finally yielded to many requests – and a fifth and final time in 1665[115].

Canini dedicated his work to his patron, Girolamo Soranzo, and possibly he knew about Alamos's aphorisms and the French translations because of his employment with Soranzo, a Venetian ambassador in the Spanish and imperial courts in the early decades of the 17th century. Demonstrating the humility typical of such cases, Canini timidly took credit for the final compilation, his translations of Alamos's *Aphorisms*, and the several indexes. In the dedication he declared he had "illustrated" Tacitus's extant works "for common utility". Canini's *Illustrated Tacitus* represents outstandingly well the successive additions and mediations at the core of Tacitus's reception, a process in which every piece of new material potentially added a new dimension to the meaning of the texts. The rearrangement of supplementary material originally prepared by other translators clearly shows the cumulative character of the reception process. An example of this is Adriano Politi's *Dicharatione*, which apart from being incorporated into Canini's editions was also plagiarized by Herrera in 1615. Another example can be found in Sueyro's explanation of ancient German place-names in his 1613 translation. First plagiarized by Alamos in 1614, Canini subsequently expanded the explanation in 1618. Though these connections partly may be due to special bonds between Spanish and Italian intellectual production, they also prove that early modern translators of Tacitus worked within a European framework. Much previous work, whether publicly acknowledged or not, was very often the basis of each "new" version. Canini's volume is an excellent example of the material outcome of this process (Fig. 1).

At first glance, the *Confronti* looks like a work of philology. It occupies the space of an appendix to the translation, where notes and commentaries generally go. In each

of the comparisons, Politi's Italian is placed as a heading, together with an indication of the book and section in which the difficult sentence appears. Under this

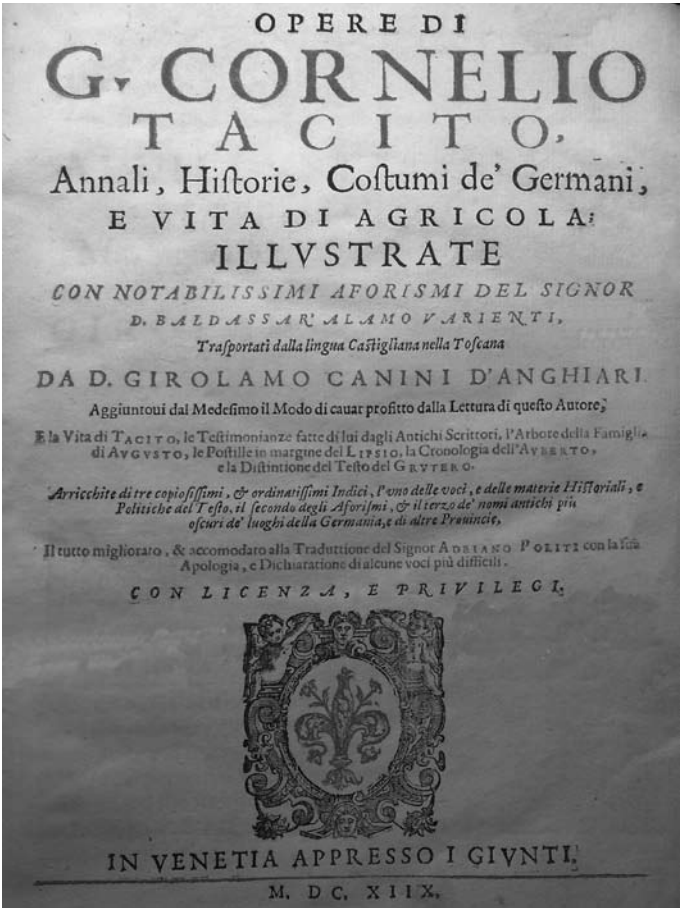

OPERE DI
G. CORNELIO
TACITO.
Annali, Hiſtorie, Coſtumi de' Germani,
E VITA DI AGRICOLA:
ILLVSTRATE
CON NOTABILISSIMI AFORISMI DEL SIGNOR
D. BALDASSAR ALAMO VARIENTI,
Traſportati dalla lingua Caſtigliana nella Toſcana
DA D. GIROLAMO CANINI D'ANGHIARI.
Aggiuntoui dal Medeſimo il Modo di cauar profitto dalla Lettura di queſto Autore,
E la Vita di TACITO, le Teſtimonianze fatte di lui dagli Antichi Scrittori, l'Arbore della Famiglia di AVGVSTO, le Poſtille in margine del LIPSIO, la Cronologia dell'AVBERTO, e la Diſtintione del Teſto del GRVTERO.
Arricchite di tre copioſiſſimi, & ordinatiſſimi Indici, l'vno delle voci, e delle materie Hiſtoriali, e Politiche del Teſto, il ſecondo degli Aforiſmi, & il terzo de' nomi antichi più oſcuri de' luoghi della Germania, e di altre Prouincie,
Il tutto migliorato, & accomodato alla Traduttione del Signor ADRIANO POLITI con la ſua Apologia, e Dichiaratione di alcune voci più difficili.
CON LICENZA, E PRIVILEGI.
IN VENETIA APPRESSO I GIVNTI.
M. DC. XIIX.

Fig. 1
Title-page of Tacitus, *Opere di G. Cornelio Tacito. Annali, Historie, Costumi de' Germani e Vita di Agricola*, Venice 1618. The various materials of different authorship assembled to produce this edition are announced in full detail on the title-page. The first author mentioned is Tacitus, followed by B. Álamos de Barrientos, whose aphorisms were translated into Italian by Canini. Canini's name appears afterwards, but in larger typeface (only Tacitus's name is larger than his). The lengthy title-page continues explaining that the volume includes the life of Tacitus, ancient authors' testimonies regarding him, the crest of Augustus's family, the marginal notes of Justus Lipsius, Auberto Miraeos's chronology – also included in some Lipsian editions – and Janus Gruter's division of chapters. The three weighty indices included are also mentioned and explained. Finally, it is stated that the Italian translation is a revised version of A. Politi's work.

heading one finds the various translations Canini found in other versions. In most cases he did not explain at length the differences between the terms, simply putting the fragments (usually not more than five or six words) one after another (Fig. 2). However, the purpose of the work was not exclusively technical. Comparison between the French and Spanish versions complements the fundamental rivalry between "Italian" translations – into Tuscan (or Sienese) and Florentine dialects – at the basis of the *Confronti*. This quarrel provoked Adriano Politi in 1603 to write a Tuscan (or Sienese) version of the Florentine Tacitus published by Bernardo Davanzati in 1596. The comparison between the previous Italian translations and the one by Politi deepened the quarrel between the Tuscan (or Sienese) and Florentine dialects. At least, this was the main use the publisher of the fourth edition (named Giunti) attributed to the *Confronti* in 1644. In a note to readers, he indicated that the comparisons, noted in the margins with an asterisk, were useful not only for clarifying difficult words or sentences in the original but also for demonstrating that Politi's translation was the best. Neither other Italian versions nor foreign ones could compare to it, he said. Politi's Italian was sharp and insightful and expressed the "true feelings" of an author, Tacitus, judged to be "obscure and difficult"[116].

Canini first mentioned the utility of comparing translations in the dedication to the first edition of 1618, which did not include the *Confronti* but probably envisioned them. For Canini, "those who make use of vernacular translations – if they are able and know how – will find it fruitful to consult, in certain obscure passages, the Latin original and the best commentators". However, those who did not know Latin would also benefit, by comparing one vernacular with versions in other languages. Canini specifically recommended contrasting with the best translations in French and Spanish because "the help of these two sisters" would make it easier to express in Italian what Tacitus wanted to say in his obscure and difficult Latin, the mother language of all three vernaculars[117].

According to Canini, translations were not simply vehicles for the unlearned. He assumed that people who could read the original Latin also used translations. He thus described a learned use of translations in which comparison with the original and with commentaries helped readers interpret the most difficult passages. Comparison between vernaculars, which also implies considerable linguistic skills, was useful both for understanding Tacitus and for expressing his ideas in Italian, that is, for producing new translations. The *Confronti* reveals the presence of a typical mode of early modern reading. Together with the original, translations and commentaries were on Canini's imagined book-wheel[118]. Translations not only were

a secondary resource for the unlearned, but also a means for furthering the study of a particular author. They were tools for a simultaneous reading that served to deepen one's knowledge of a particular topic. In his preface to Coloma's translation, Leandro de San Martín similarly indicated he "had read the versions of this author written by the most eloquent men in many languages" and collated them

CONFRONTI
DI ALCVNI LVOGHI
NELLA TRADVTTIONE
Delle Opere di Cornelio Tacito.
DEL SIGNOR ADRIANO POLITI,
Col Testo Latino, e con quattro altre sue Traduttioni, che sono,

1 L'Antica Italiana senza nome dell' Autore.
2 La Toscana del Signor Giorgio Dati.
3 La Castigliana del Signor Alamo.
4 La Francese del Signor { Stefano della Planea. / Claudio Fochet.

MESSI INSIEME
DA D. GIROLAMO CANINI D'ANGHIARI.

LIBRO PRIMO degli Annali.

Assorbì il tutto. Ann. num. 1.

1 Vb Imperium accepit. *Lat.*
2 Prese l'Imperio. *Ant.*
3 Occupò sotto il suo Imperio tutto lo stato de' Romani. *Dati.*
4 Occupò de baxo de suo Imperio el estado de los Romanos. *Alam.*
5 Receut en son obeyssance tout l'estat. *Franc.*

Per aiuto della grandezza. Ann. num. 3.

1 Subsidia dominationis. *Lat.*
2 . . . . . *Ant.*
3 Per appoggio, e fortificamento del Principato. *Dati.*
4 Para sostento, y fortification de suo sinorio. *Alam.*
5 Cerchant vn appuy pour renforcer sa domination. *Franc.*

Onde mi è nato pensiero di riferire. Ann. num. 1.

1 Inde consilium mihi, &c. tradere. *Lat.*
2 Laonde mi hà parso scriuere. *Ant.*
3 Per questa cagione adunque hò deliberato scriuere. *Dati.*
4 Por esta causa me ha parecido. *Alam.*
5 C'est escriuir pourquoy i'ayaduisè de dire. *Franc.*

Hauendo annestato nella famiglia. Ann. num. 3.

1 In familiam Cæsari induxerat. *Lat.*
2 Haueua introdotto nella famiglia de' Cesari. *Ant.*
3 Hauèdo nella famiglia de' Cesari adottato. *Dati.*
4 Auia metido en la familia de los Cesares. *Alam.*
5 Auoit adoptè en la familles des Cesars. *Franc.*

A Per

Fig. 2
First page of G. Canini's *Confronti*, included in his edition of Tacitus's works in Italian translation.

with Coloma's[119]. William Drake read Tacitus in a similar fashion in mid-17th-century England. He tried to disentangle the meaning of Tacitus's texts using previous works by those whom he considered his most incisive commentators: Justus Lipsius, Francis Bacon, Giovanni Botero, and Diego Saavedra Fajardo. Drake also considered it helpful to include Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos's Spanish translation in his European cross-reading[120].

Johann Freinsheim devoted his greatest efforts to studying Roman historians such as Quintus Curtius and Livy. He worked in Strasbourg, Heidelberg, and Sweden, first as a professor of rhetoric in Uppsala and later as a librarian and royal historiographer to Queen Christina. Some years before moving to Uppsala, Freinsheim engaged actively in criticism of Tacitus and in 1641 produced a Latin paraphrase of the first four books of the *Annals*. He completed the work with a comparison between seven –not five, as the title page announced – vernacular translations[121]. In a preliminary note, Freinsheim identified the editions he used: the English version of Greenwey and Savile (London, 1604, second edition of the *Annals*, third for Savile's translation); the Spanish of Emanuel Sueyro (Antwerp, 1613); Mycillus's German version (Mainz, 1535); the Italian by Adriano Politi (Venice, 1616); and the French by Rodolphe le Maistre (Paris, 1636). He used two more versions published in Munich in 1612. In them, the Latin text was accompanied by the Italian translation of Giorgio Dati and the French by Claude Fauchet and Étienne de la Planche. Given that Mycillus's version was also published in a bilingual edition in Munich in 1612, one suspects Freinsheim may have consulted a copy of this edition and not the 1535 original translation.

Freinsheim's gratitude – he acknowledged every person from whom he borrowed a book – reveals how he gained access to all the editions necessary for producing this work. Basically, he turned to friends and people close to him. These included his brother Melchior; Johann Adam Schrag, a jurist from Strasbourg; Wolfgang Forstner (related to Christoph Forstner, the diplomat who published a commentary on Tacitus's *Annals* with references to the actions of the most outstanding statesmen of his day such as Richelieu or Olivares); and Tobias Bernegger (related to Mathias Bernegger, who published a book on Tacitus in which Freinsheim participated)[122]. Freinsheim also thanked Johann Heinrich Boecler, a professor at Strasbourg University, author of Mathias Bernneger's funeral oration and of yet another political commentary on Tacitus[123]. Freinsheim worked, as this list shows, within a solid intellectual network that 'owned' an extended library and had deep knowledge of the European publishing panorama.

Employing a botanical metaphor to explain why his work was worth publishing, Freinsheim left some personal remarks on this panorama. Tacitus's fruit, he said, was picked from a tree in Italy, a land enjoying the best climate. Transplanting Tacitus into German soil was therefore a difficult task, but one that had generated great expectations[124]. Apart from identifying Italy as the region of origin of Tacitus, Freinsheim also confirmed his knowledge of European reception. Tacitus's obscure works had been inspected in commentaries and notes by many distinguished scholars, and many versions had been produced in different languages. Therefore, was there anything left, he asked, except to reduce all previous comments down to a common paraphrase and compare all the versions produced in the "European world" (*orbi Europaeo*)?[125] Freinsheim was right; Europe probably was flooded with works on Tacitus, but he himself did much more than merely compare previous translations.

The slightest linguistic difficulty led Freinsheim to produce lengthy and erudite commentaries on the most varied subjects. Actual comparison between versions thus remained partly hidden amid all these notes, similar in copiousness and erudition to those of the most scholarly commentators. Aside from comparing versions, Freinsheim's work contributed to European knowledge of Tacitus by incorporating references to vernacular translations. In his preface to the comparison, Freinsheim said the work was the product of a specific mode of reading the classics and of the notes produced in that process. His words make clear that translations were useful not only for those who could not read the original but also for the learned who wanted to gain insight into Tacitus's texts. Freinsheim read the Latin text similarly to Canini, comparing it with different translations and looking again to the original. This exercise in multiple readings sometimes proved useful but sometimes clearly was misguided. As a result, Freinsheim produced a series of schemes and notes that he claimed were first conceived for personal use but were finally appended to his *Specimen paraphraseos cornelianae*[126].

In 1686, Nicolas Abraham Amelot de la Houssaie prefaced his partial translation and commentary to Tacitus with an interesting critical review of Tacitus's European scholarship[127]. Amelot reviewed not only the works and translations he had read personally, but also referenced works such as Baillet's *Jugemens des sçavans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs* and previous commentators like Freinsheim. He analyzed three Spanish translations (Sueyro, Álamos, and Coloma), two Italians (Davanzati and Politi) and four French (Fauchet and La Planche, Le Maistre, Harlay Chanvalon, and Perrot d'Ablancourt). Amelot's *Critique* compared one translated passage in detail – relating to Tacitus's judgment on the Christians, in *Annales*, XV, 44 – but

his comment on the translation focused mainly on stylistic qualities and political interpretations. His long review indicates the extent to which previous works influenced the continuous process of Tacitus's reception. It indicates as well the European scope of this tradition and the cross-knowledge that commentators, editors, and translators had of each other's work. Amelot's political interpretation of Tacitus is also interesting because he made no distinction according to the nationality of the commentators. For him, the reception of Tacitus was a single, unified process.

A similar, if less detailed, approach to European politics and the reception of Tacitus could be seen decades earlier in Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, which circulated widely and were translated into English, French, and Spanish[128]. Introducing an ironic view of Tacitus's reception, this work featured a confrontation between Lipsius and Tacitus before a literary court and ridiculed Tacitus and other classical authorities for not being able to solve practical political problems. The *Ragguagli* become a point of reference for later critics, further embellishing the reception of Tacitus with a European image. The imaginary Parnassus is in fact a vivid image of the European Republic of Letters and shows that, at least on the literary or intellectual level, the reception of Tacitus was situated in this wide framework. In this second level of interconnection, references to translations became more generic and obscure, but the European framework was more vividly described.

Works such as the Portuguese *Hospital das letras* by Francisco Manuel de Melo and the final version of the *República literaria* by the Spaniard Diego Saavedra Fajardo followed Boccalini. Saavedra, for instance, imagined a city in which strict censorship was imposed to determine whether or not a book would gain access to the republic. Censors specialized by subject matter had to deal with masses of works assailing the utopian city. Saavedra first commented on humanities and history and then scrutinized a new sort of book that challenged traditional schemes for classifying knowledge. These included "books of politics and reason of state, diverse aphorisms, commentaries upon Cornelius Tacitus and upon Plato and Aristotle's republics". The books reached the city from "the northern parts, and also from France and Italy"[129].

Pedro Ponce de León expressed a similar view. As with Saavedra's work, northern Europe was regarded with generic suspicion; French and Italian bibliographic production was better known. Ponce de León posited a relationship between certain precepts in Tacitus and turmoil in Flanders, Scotland, France, and Italy. Previously, Ponce had clearly linked Tacitus's translations with developments in Italian and French politics. The term "politics" summarized all the evils of his age:

> Somebody could say, Is this book not printed in Italian? Is it not circulating in France in the vernacular? I will gladly admit that it is, but I ask in turn, Has Italy anything to lose yet in the domain of politics? What examples has France provided for us to imitate? In which part of Italy did the Florentine Giorgio Dati print the first translation? In Venice. Who was the author who first published a translation in France? He never gave his name. What were the beginnings of French heresies? Politics. Why is politics not banished, or why do not we try at least to do so? Because of politics. What made Venice deny obedience to the Pope on some occasions? And to banish the religions from the state? Politics[130].

Comparable images of European politics – with different levels of bibliographic precision – can be found in Spanish authors such as Pedro de Ribadeneyra and Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, who listed Tiberius, Tacitus, Jean Bodin, Philippe du Mornay, François de la Noue, and, of course, Machiavelli in the group of "political atheists" undermining the foundations of European politics[131]. Contemporaries perceived the pernicious influence of French and Italian books far from where they were produced. The works of Cornelius Tacitus were among these dangerous volumes able to jump over borders.

The geographic origins and rapid dissemination of the new discipline of politics was also commented upon by the English scholar Gabriel Harvey. Describing Cambridge in 1579, he stated, "You can not step into a scholar's study but (ten to one) you shall lightly find open either Bodin *de Republica* or Le Royes exposition upon Aristotle's Politiques or some other French or Italian political political discourses"[132]. Other distinguished English scholars had similar views of the European dimension of politics. Francis Bacon in 1612 published an essay, *On Counsel*, sharply describing the problems posed by the practice of consulting affairs of state in councils: "For which inconveniences, the doctrine of *Italy*, and practice of *France*, hath introduced *Cabanet* Counsels, a remedy worse then the disease[133].

Spaniards' mistrust of European politics found a powerful counterbalance in England and the Netherlands, where Spaniards' religious discourse was received with suspicion, and William of Orange's *Apologie* even characterised the Spanish as "scholars of Machiavelli"[134]. Similar views on the spread of politics assigned an evil role to Spaniards, who were, in the words of Robert Johnson, "subtle, wrapping their drifts in close secrecy, expressing surely in their words, but keeping their intentions dissembled under disguised assurance of amity"[135]. The 1626 English edition of Boccalini's *Ragguagli* accentuated the critical views of Spanish politics already present in the original. The same work, which severely criticized Tacitus's reception, was allegedly

translated into English because of "the kind welcome which these Raggualioes of Boccalini lately found among the French and in other Princes' Courts, who suspect the incroaching power of the House of Austria"[136].

The most outstanding feature of vernacular translations is that they were both a point of departure and a vehicle for interpretation. Translations did not only multiply the number of potential readers. Rather, they presented the reader with a complex mix of interpretation and several levels of significance. Access to Tacitus was mediated by the presentation he received and the potential uses attributed to his works. In this chapter I have tried to show that it is necessary to understand the nature of these mediations in order to decipher what made Tacitus so popular in early modern Europe.

My first look inside the catalogue of Tacitus's translations has proved fruitful in at least two ways. First, I have highlighted the many connections between different works. These connections range from the appropriation of material previously published in other editions and translations to wide bibliographic reflections on the scope of Tacitus's reception. On a second level, I have shown that translations transmitted not only Tacitus's texts but also contemporary perceptions of European politics. The first issue draws attention to the importance of a thorough description of the material characteristics of translations; the second underlines a rather neglected aspect of reception. Both show that to understand the ways in which Tacitus became part of early modern political thought it is crucial to assess the nature of his readings and the contemporary perceptions around his figure.

2. Translations are books and have readers

Material forms and actual readers

The act of translating Tacitus is rightly conceived as an intellectual activity. As such, it implies many alterations in the text. Translators modify the style of the original, introduce misunderstandings or errors, paraphrase some sentences, select the vocabulary they use, and change the text in many other ways. The operations involved in the course of rewriting have been the object of thorough discussion in theoretical approaches to translation. From a historical viewpoint, every translation was also the production of a new book. The creation of the material object that made translated texts available to readers entailed a series of complementary intellectual and material operations conducted by several different people. Both processes obviously are intertwined, and they generate a whole set of cultural marks.

It may seem obvious to state that early modern translations were books, but it has not always been considered that they were not the same kinds of books we use now. Roger Chartier has insisted convincingly on the contrast between the changing materiality of books and the presumed stability of texts. He conceived a history of reading capable of shedding new light on the relationship between texts, the forms in which they are offered to the reader, and the uses or interpretations that provide them with sense[137]. According to this view, 16th- and 17th-century translations of Tacitus should not only be regarded as texts. Rather, they are to be studied as objects that offer a series of data suitable for individualized analysis, and even as singular documents[138].

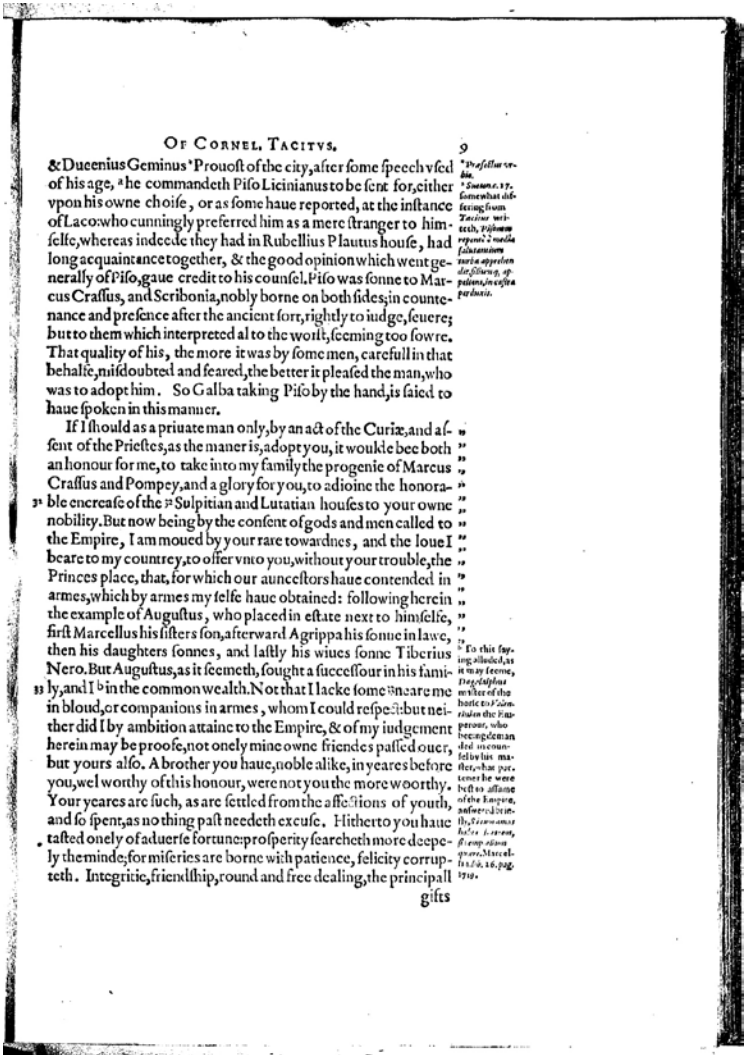
This kind of approach may contribute to a history of translation in at least two senses. First, it helps in understanding the continuity between paraphrases, alterations, and other changes in meaning, and typographic characteristics, page size, printed marginal notes, etc. Interventions in the text go hand in hand with the materiality of the book. Second, it considers translations both as "particular readings" and, simultaneously, as points of departure for new readings. In the uninterrupted interaction between a text and its readers, translations therefore are situated in the middle. They carry many signs of the historical context in which they were produced, but in turn they reproduce them and add new ones.

Taken together, the translations of Tacitus published during the 16th and 17th centuries constitute a fairly good sample of book production in that era, for virtually

every size, format, type of note, and supplementary material can be found there. Historians use different modes to classify all the characteristics of early modern editions; marks can be attributed to publishers, translators, editors, secondary authors, proofreaders, and other people who took part in the production of the book. Marks can also be classified by their hierarchical relationship with the main text and by the position (before, after, or beside the text) where they are located. One can also interrogate the functions of these materials and how they altered or interfered in the reading process.

I have placed all these characteristics under seven headings: the general aspect of the book, the structure of the contents, marks left by the administrative and commercial processes to which books were subject, preliminary materials, marks that share the printed page with the text, notes and commentaries, and, finally, additional materials of any kind. These categories are by no means the only ones that could be used. Scholars of bibliography, for instance, would use a rather different vocabulary to analyse and define technical characteristics of books[139]. Depending on the information one wants to recover, the amount of detail required, and the approach employed, other classifications might be more appropriate. Also, it is important to note that these headings are related to each other in several ways (better images are usually found in large folios, indexes are sometimes made using the marginal notes summarizing the text, etc.) Different editions contain different sets of marks. The information they furnish and their relative importance within a given edition also varies greatly; typographic characteristics, for instance, may be essential in the interpretation of one copy, but irrelevant for another.

The first things to consider in analysing a translation are its general aspect, size and format, the quality of the paper and ink employed, and the technical difficulty of the printing. Although they are not part of the serial production of books, bindings tell a great deal about the history of a particular copy. Typographic minutiae such as the employment of quotation marks in the margins of direct speech – for instance, in the four editions of the English translation by Savile and Greenwey – reveal the importance that early modern readers attributed to direct speech in the historical genre. This way of reading, no longer in use, was dealt with in many *ars historicae* and contemporary compilations of speeches (Fig. 3). The 1636 edition of Robert le Maistre's translation offers historical information on the reception of Tacitus that has little to do with the translated text itself. Printed in big luxurious folios, its elegant title page in red and black ink and the engraved portraits of Louis XIII, the Duke of Orléans and 13 Roman emperors make it possibly the most elegant



OF CORNEL. TACITVS. 9

& Dueenius Geminus *Prouoſt of the city, after ſome ſpeech vſed of his age, [a] he commandeth Piſo Licinianus to be ſent for, either vpon his owne choiſe, or as ſome haue reported, at the inſtance of Laco: who cunningly preferred him as a mere ſtranger to himſelfe, whereas indeede they had in Rubellius Plautus houſe, had long acquaintance together, & the good opinion which went generally of Piſo, gaue credit to his counſel. Piſo was ſonne to Marcus Craſſus, and Scribonia, nobly borne on both ſides; in countenance and preſence after the ancient ſort, rightly to iudge, ſeuere; but to them which interpreted al to the worſt, ſeeming too ſowre. That quality of his, the more it was by ſome men, carefull in that behalfe, miſdoubted and feared, the better it pleaſed the man, who was to adopt him. So Galba taking Piſo by the hand, is ſaied to haue ſpoken in this manner.

If I ſhould as a priuate man only, by an act of the Curiæ, and aſſent of the Prieſtes, as the maner is, adopt you, it woulde bee both an honour for me, to take into my family the progenie of Marcus Craſſus and Pompey, and a glory for you, to adioine the honora- »
[b] ble encreaſe of the [b] Sulpitian and Lutatian houſes to your owne »
nobility. But now being by the conſent of gods and men called to »
the Empire, I am moued by your rare towardnes, and the loue I »
beare to my countrey, to offer vnto you, without your trouble, the »
Princes place, that, for which our auncestors haue contended in »
armes, which by armes my ſelfe haue obtained: following herein »
the example of Auguſtus, who placed in eſtate next to himſelfe, »
firſt Marcellus his ſiſters ſon, afterward Agrippa his ſonne in lawe, »
then his daughters ſonnes, and laſtly his wiues ſonne Tiberius »
Nero. But Auguſtus, as it ſeemeth, ſought a ſucceſſour in his fami- »
[b] ly, and I [b] in the common wealth. Not that I lacke ſome [a] neare me »
in bloud, or companions in armes, whom I could reſpect: but nei- »
ther did I by ambition attaine to the Empire, & of my iudgement »
herein may be proofe, not onely mine owne friendes paſſed ouer, »
but yours alſo. A brother you haue, noble alike, in yeares before »
you, wel worthy of this honour, were not you the more worthy. »
Your yeares are ſuch, as are ſettled from the affections of youth, »
and ſo ſpent, as no thing paſt needeth excuſe. Hitherto you haue »
taſted onely of aduerſe fortune: proſperity ſearcheth more deepe- »
ly the minde, for miſeries are borne with patience, felicity corrup- »
teth. Integritie, friendſhip, round and free dealing, the principall »

gifts

*Præfectus urbis.

[a] Suetonius. 17. ſomewhat differing from Tacitus writeth, *Piſonem reperit [a] media ſalutantium turba appellentem ſtilum, apprehenſa manu, in ædes ſuas perduxit.*

[b] To this ſaying alluded, as it may ſeeme, *Dorotheus* mother of the harte to *Valentinian* the Emperour, who beeing demanded in counſell by his mother, whom he pretended he were beſt to aſſame of the Empire, anſwered: *Theodoſium, Theodoſium habet ſi rem-publicam quæris.* Marcellin. lib. 26. pag. 310.

Fig. 3

Tacitus, *The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The life of Agricola* (Trans. H. Savile), Oxford 1591, p. 9. In the first line an asterisk at "Provost of the city" refers to the margin, where the reader finds the original Latin term (*praefectus urbis*). Line 2 contains a cross-reference to Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars* and comparison between the two texts. The quotation marks in the right margin call attention to a direct speech by Galba. The final note provides the reader with the extended context and cross-references needed to understand an obscure allusion in the text. The references to Savile's annotations are indicated with numbers both inside the text and in the left margin.

edition of Tacitus's works in early modern Europe. Size, quality, and cost make us think of an illuminated manuscript presentation copy. They also raise doubts about the popular character often ascribed to translations. Rather, the reading of Tacitus appears to be reserved for kings.

In the second place, translations were shaped by elements that served to structure content. Text was chopped into books, sections, and paragraphs, and these were sometimes numbered and used for later references to the text. Page and line numbers were employed for the same purpose. If the book included a table of contents, this was usually elaborated on the basis of divisions established in the text. All these features contributed to the understanding of the text, making it easier to follow the argument and memorize or classify its contents. Abstracts were included at the beginning of each part to guide readers' interpretations. Another important structural characteristic of early modern books were indexes of names, places, and concepts (or, more precisely, commonplaces). These tools for searching the text provided quick, thematic points of access. Closely related to reading techniques and methods for gathering and processing information, indexes occasionally fostered non-linear or discontinuous reading. Published in 1651, *Alma o aphorismos de Cornelio Tácito* is a particularly striking example of the relevance of indexes. This work by Antonio Fuertes y Biota simply reproduced a selection of Alamos de Barrientos's thematic index of 1614 together with a new, simpler alphabetical index[140].

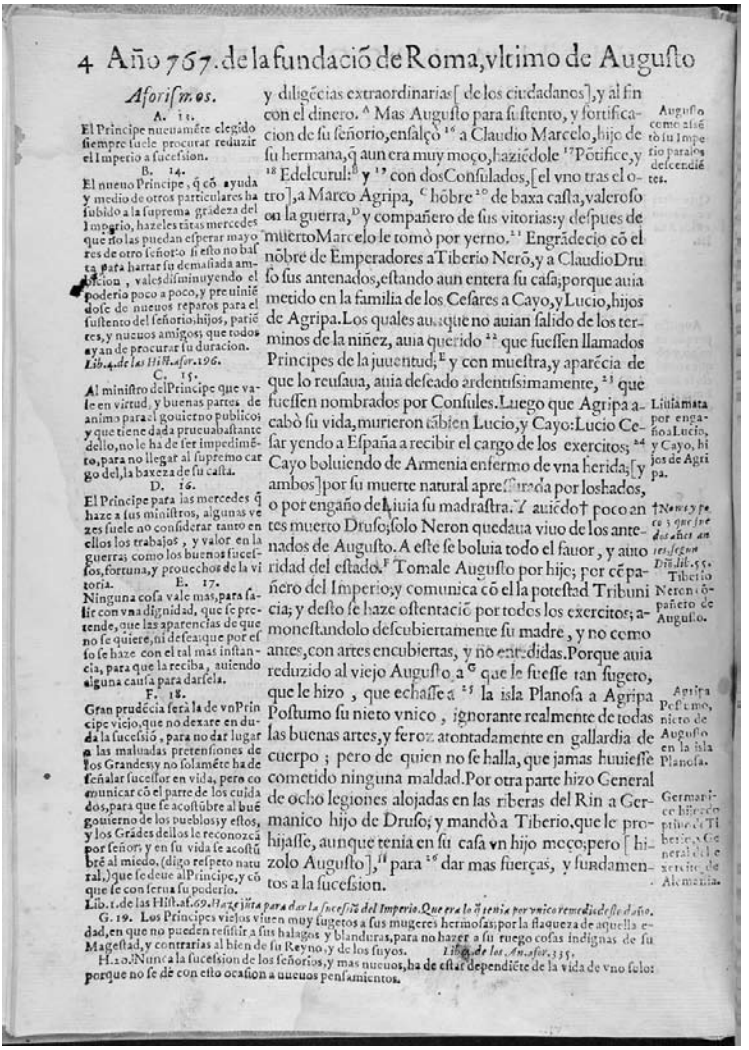
Third, most translations contain some marks of the commercial and administrative process that books had to follow before they reached bookshops and final owners. These include indications of the official price of the book, privileges, licenses, and approbations. These short documents normally were issued as part of the required bureaucratic procedure. Sometimes, however, they add another layer of symbolic authority – royal or ecclesiastical – to the books. Comments on these documents also can tell us about the publishing panorama and the book's expected influence.

Printers, who regularly also were the booksellers, included their marks on books. On some occasions, they intervened to explain the technical difficulties and other particularities of the publishing process or to publicize the commercial success of certain translations. The first printer of Canini's compilation, for example, directly asked readers not to judge possible printing errors and instead consider the technical difficulties in making the book. As I indicated in the previous chapter, in 1644 the heirs to Tommaso Giunti claimed that the fourth edition had been motivated by the many requests received[141]. Abel l'Angelier, printer of the translation by Étienne

de la Plache and Claude Fauchet, in a short note explained the intricate history of Fauchet's work and the latter's reasons for not revealing his name. The note also contained a vivid description of the previous circulation of Fauchet's translation and the criticism he had received[142]. Two years later, in 1584, Angelier addressed readers again. Now he explained that rapid sales of Tacitus's translations had prompted him to publish this third edition[143]. At times, errata can give us insight into the publishing process. Emanuel Sueyro, for instance, apologized for errors in his translation by indicating that those in charge of correcting the proofs did not speak Spanish and he was not present when the book was printed[144].

A fourth kind of historical evidence is found in the preliminaries that present the text and its author to the reading public. Dedications, epistles to the reader, and prefaces contain precious historical evidence. Although paratexts are widely used by modern scholars, one should recall that they were important mediations in the meaning of Tacitus's texts. They constrained or directed its potential readings and therefore inform us about the "horizon of expectation" in which the text was inserted. I have already mentioned the enormous importance of Lipsius's biography of Tacitus and the short portrait he included in the notes to the *Politicorum libri sex*. Preliminaries usually contain information about matters far distant from the contents. Dedicatory epistles are valuable sources for the family history of the patron and sometimes provide information on the intellectual environment in which the translation was produced. Prefaces usually help contextualize the text and summarize the translator's intentions. Other materials closely related to the precise context in which the translation was inserted are poems and epigrams to the translator, portraits of him or of the dedicatee, and engravings of the latter's coat of arms. Occasionally, translations are decorated with frontispieces or have allegories and symbols on their title pages. Powerfully situated before the texts, frontispieces "conditioned the process of reception and in various degrees oriented reading and partially predetermined the signification of a work"[145].

Fifth, the historical characteristics of a work are visible in all the little marks that accompany the principal text on the printed page. The text is presented to the reader inside a box of text. Outside the box, page numbers, the title of the book or chapter, the author, and other indications are introduced in headings or footers. A number of Tacitus's translations indicate, for instance, the name of the emperor and the precise dates – sometimes indicating both the consular years used by Tacitus and their equivalent in the Christian calendar – of the action that the principal text addresses. Thanks to a series of typographic devices (numbers, crosses, asterisks, letters, and



4 Año 767. de la fundació de Roma, vltimo de Augusto

Aforismos.

A. 11.
El Principe nueuamẽte elegido siempre suele procurar reduzir el Imperio a sucesion.

B. 14.
El nueuo Principe, q̃ cõ ayuda y medio de otros particulares ha subido a la suprema grãdeza del Imperio, hazeles tãtas mercedes que no las puedan esperar mayores de otro señor: o si esto no basta para hartar su demasiada ambicion, vales disminuyendo el poderio poco a poco, y preuiniẽdose de nueuos reparos para el sustento del señorio, hijos, patrices, y nueuos amigos; que todos ayan de procurar su duracion.
Lib. 4. de las Hist. aforis. 196.

C. 15.
Al ministro del Principe que vale en virtud, y buenas partes de animo para el gouierno publico; y que tiene dada prueua bastante dello, no le ha de ser impedimẽto, para no llegar al supremo cargo del, la baxeza de su casta.

D. 16.
El Principe para las mercedes q̃ haze a sus ministros, algunas vezes suele no considerar tanto en ellos los trabajos, y valor en la guerras como los buenos sucessos, fortuna, y prouechos de la victoria.

E. 17.
Ninguna cosa vale mas, para salir con vna dignidad, que se pretende, que las aparencias de que no se quiere, ni desea que por esso se haze con el tal más instancia, para que la reciba, auiendo alguna causa para darsela.

F. 18.
Gran prudẽcia sera la de vn Principe viejo, que no dexare en duda la sucessiõ, para no dar lugar a las malsanas pretensiones de los Grandes; y no solamẽte ha de señalar sucessor en vida, pero comunicar cõ el parte de los cuidados, para que se acostũbre al buẽ gouierno de los pueblos; y estos, y los Grãdes dellos le reconozcã por señor; y en su vida se acostũbrẽ al miedo, (digo respeto natural,) que se deue al Principe, y cõ que se conserua su poderio.
Lib. 1. de las Hist. af. 69. *Haze junta para dar la sucessiõ del Imperio. Que era lo q̃ tenia por vnico remedio de esse daño.*

G. 19. Los Principes viejos viuen muy sugetos a sus mugeres hermosas; por la flaqueza de aquella edad, en que no pueden resistir a sus halagos y blanduras, para no hazer a su ruego cosas indignas de su Magestad, y contrarias al bien de su Reyno, y de los suyos. *Lib. 4. de los An. afor. 335.*

H. 20. Nunca la sucessiõn de los señorios, y mas nueuos, ha de estar dependiẽte de la vida de vno solo: porque no se dẽ con esto ocasion a nueuos pensamientos.

y diligẽcias extraordinarias [de los ciudadanos], y al fin con el dinero. [A] Mas Augusto para sustento, y fortificacion de su señorio, ensalçò [16] a Claudio Marcelo, hijo de su hermana, q̃ aun era muy moço, haziẽdole [17] Potifice, y [18] Edelcurul: [B] y [19] con dos Consulados, [el vno tras el otro], a Marco Agripa, [C] hõbre [20] de baxa casta, valeroso en la guerra, [D] y compañero de sus vitorias: y despues de muerto Marcelo le tomò por yerno. [21] Engrãdecio cõ el nõbre de Emperadores a Tiberio Nerõ, y a Claudio Drusso sus antenados, estando aun entera su casa; porque auia metido en la familia de los Cesares a Cayo, y Lucio, hijos de Agripa. Los quales aun [que no auian salido de los terminos de la niñez, auia querido [22] que fuessen llamados Principes de la juuentud; [E] y con muestra, y aparẽcia de que lo reusaua, auia deseado ardentissimamente, [23] que fuessen nombrados por Consules. Luego que Agripa acabò su vida, murieron tãbien Lucio, y Cayo: Lucio Cesar yendo a España a recibir el cargo de los exercitos; [24] Cayo boluiendo de Armenia enfermo de vna herida; [y ambos] por su muerte natural apressurada por los hados, o por engaño de la iuia su madrastra. Y auiẽdo† poco antes muerto Druso; solo Neron quedaua viuo de los antenados de Augusto. A este se boluia todo el fauor, y auto ridad del estado. [F] Tomale Augusto por hijo; por cõpañero del Imperio; y comunica cõ el la potestad Tribunicia; y desto se haze ostentaciõ por todos los exercitos; amonestandolo descubiertamente su madre, y no como antes, con artes encubiertas, y nõ entendidas. Porque auia reduzido al viejo Augusto a [G] que le fuesse tan fugero, que le hizo, que echasse a [25] la isla Planosa a Agripa Postumo su nieto vnico, ignorante realmente de todas las buenas artes, y feroz atontadamente en gallardia de cuerpo; pero de quien no se halla, que jamas huuiesse cometido ninguna maldad. Por otra parte hizo General de ocho legiones alojadas en las riberas del Rin a Germanico hijo de Druso; y mandò a Tiberio, que le prohijasse, aunque tenia en su casa vn hijo moço; pero [hizolo Augusto], [H] para [26] dar mas fuerças, y fundamentos a la sucessiõn.

Augusto como atẽtò su Imperio para los descendiẽtes.

Liuia mata por engaño a Lucio, y Cayo, hijos de Agripa.

† *Nueue años fue dos años antes segun Dio. lib. 55.*

Tiberio Neron cõpañero de Augusto.

Agripa Postumo, nieto de Augusto en la isla Planosa.

Germanico hijo de Druso primo de Tiberio, General del exercito de Alemania.

Fig. 4
B. Álamos de Barrientos, *Tácito español ilustrado con aforismos*, Madrid 1614, p. 4. The text box containing the Spanish translation is overwhelmed by added materials. The heading indicates the date of the action, with reference to the foundation of Rome (*ab urbe condita*) and to the year of the governing emperor, in this case Augustus. The external margin and footer are full of aphorisms. Notes 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 in the internal margin summarize the text in a clear-cut style. The third note, marked with a cross, explains data alluded to in the text and provides a cross-reference to Dio Cassius. The text is continuously interrupted by references with superscript numbers and letters, and the words added to the translation are marked within square brackets.

so on) text box, margins, and endnotes maintain a fluid dialogue. The contents of printed margins range from basic to very complex uses (Fig. 4, 5). Most of these uses have their origin in manuscript annotation, marks used by readers to enhance their understanding of what they read. The Spanish translation by Antonio de Herrera contained two printed marginal notes that attracted the attention of the reader with the word "note" – surely the most commonly used manuscript annotation in early modern Europe.

William W.E. Slights has affirmed that printed marginalia addressed the wider public, "instructing the reader in the relation of the parts to the whole and of the whole to the cultural discourse at large, occasionally redefining the work's readership in the process"[146]. Slights also offered a typology of functions of marginal printed notes. The most intriguing of the fifteen functions he identified are "Appropriation (co-opting a text for purposes not explicitly intended by its author)"; "Correction (objecting to some point made by the author, also anticipating erroneous interpretations)"; "Emphasis (calling attention to important items, reproducing *sententiae* and other memorable phrases from the text in the margins)"; "Exhortation (encouraging the reader to take to heart the author's message)"; "Justification (defending the author against his detractors)"; and "Simplification (generating rubrics and summaries)"[147].

Authorship of printed marginal notes is sometimes difficult to ascertain. Indications of subject matter, abstracts, and simplifications often were incorporated in the printer's workshop. Other calls to the reader were written by translators themselves. Proofreaders who did not speak Spanish could not have introduced the marginal notes of Sueyro's translation. Álamos and Herrera seemingly wrote the many and complex notes that appear in the margins of their translations. Coloma probably made some of the notes – Amelot de la Houssaye held this view in his 1686 *Critique* – but others have to be attributed to Leandro de San Martín, the friar who gave the text to the printing press[148].

Notes and commentaries are the sixth mark that can be found in early modern translations, and they are commonly located at the end of the printed text. Their scope and characteristics vary enormously. Their functions are similar to those that Slights assigned to marginal printed notes. Translators made use of them to explain the text and translation and to indicate corrupt passages or places of difficult interpretation (by reference to the Latin original). They also provided cross-references to other classical works in which the same issue is considered and explanations of

1

THE FIRST BOOKE
OF THE HISTORIE OF
CORNELIVS TACITVS.

I *The Proeme of Tacitus, wherein he profeſſeth ſimple dealing without partialitie.*

THE beginning of my worke ſhal be at the yeare, *The yeare of the City.822*
when Servius Galba was [1] ſecond time Conſull
with Titus Vinius. For the ancient ſtory of the
people of Rome, for [a] ſeuen hundreth and twen-
tie yeares after the Cittie was founded, [2] manie
excellent men haue deliuered, with no leſſe elo-
quence then libertie of ſpeech: but when as after the battaile at
Actium, the whole ſouerainetie, as it was [b] meete for the peace
of the ſtate, was conferred vpon one, thoſe worthy wits were no
more to found, and withall the truth of the ſtory was diuerſely
[3] weakened: partly [3] becauſe hauing no more part in the ſtate they
were ignoraunt of publike affaires; and partly beeing led away
with a luſt to [c] flatter the Princes, or againe to deface them. So
betweene malice of the one ſide, and awëd partiality of the other,
ſmall regarde there was taken by either, howe poſteritie ſhoulde
be truly enformed. But that endeuor, to pleaſe and winne thankes,
in a writer a man ſhall eaſily miſlike, hauing in it the foule note of
ſeruility: detracting and enuyous carping, carying a counterfeit
ſhew of libertie, oft findeth a good and gracious audience. Now
for Galba, Otho, Vitellius, to me they are as vnknowen, for either
benefit or wrong I haue found at their handes. My firſt riſing, I will
not deny, was vnder Veſpaſian, my ſtate bettered by Titus, and ſo
further aduanced by Domitian: but they which make profeſſion
of the ſimple trueth, may not ſay ought of any man for loue, or for
hatred. Hereafter, if the gods ſpare me life, I purpoſe when I am
[4] old, to ſet downe the ſtory of + Prince Nerva of ſacred memory,
and of the Emperour Traiane, a more plentifull and ſafe matter
to deale in, where a man may thinke what he will, and ſay what he
thinkes: a rare felicity of the time.

[a] Tac. Ann. 1. veteriu reip. profpera vel aduerſa, claris ſcriptoribus memorata ſunt: temporibuſq; Auguſti dicendi non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliſcente adulatione deterrerentur.

[b] Tac. 1. Ann. p. 210. Non alluid diſcordantis pacis vemedium fuiſſe, quàm vt ab vno regeretur.

[c] Tiberij, Caij, & Claudij ac Neronis res, florentibus ipſis, ob metum falſæ, poſtquam occiderant, recentibus odijs compoſitæ ſunt. Tac. 1. Ann.

Fig. 5
Tacitus, *The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba. Fower bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus. The life of Agricola* (Trans. H. Savile), Oxford 1591, p. 1. Heading and subheading mark the beginning of *Histories I*. The contents of this first section are summarized here as "The proeme of Tacitus, wherein he professed simple dealing without partiality". The first marginal note indicates that Tacitus's consular dating corresponds to "The year of the city 822". The next three marginal notes (indicated in superscript as a, b and c) establish cross-references to *Annals I*. Note also the references to Savile's annotations (indicated in this case with numbers) both inside the text and in the left margin.

place names, rites, customs, monuments, coins, and any other cultural consideration needed to fully understand the text. In form and content these notes are also related to early modern modes of reading. In his annotations, Fauchet reproduced the cross-reading that characterized early modern approaches to the classical corpus. He also urged French readers to get used to consulting cross-references to other Greek and Latin authors in the French versions at their disposal, and he claimed that "to give the youth everything in their hands without any cross-reference is to cultivate their stupidity"[149].

Translators sometimes used notes to show off their knowledge, which could lead to digressions; these notes were similar to erudite notes of Latin editions, but less profound in general. They may include references to present times, or criticism of other translators. Jean Baudoin illustrated his edition of P.D.B.'s translations with the political commentaries of Lipsius, Carlo Pasquale, and others[150]. The most erudite notes ever produced to illustrate a translation probably are those of Henry Savile, which are unmatched by any other[151].

Seventh, I include all other materials added to the translations of Tacitus. These are located in different places of the books and establish various hierarchical relationships with the translated text. It is worth mentioning the addition in Savile's and Le Maistre's translations of fragments replacing lost portions of Tacitus's text with accounts based on other sources, mainly Suetonius and Dio Cassius[152]. I have not found abridgements of the text, but partial editions are common. Combined editions of translations are rare, but Baudoin did include Velleius Paterculus's works in his edition of Tacitus. More interesting is the partial translation of the *Germania* to which Blaise de Vignère added for stylistic purposes the sixth book of Caesar's *Commentaries* and Cicero's *De Oratore*[153].

Glossaries of Latin terms for places, magistrates, rites, and customs also could be appended to translations. Their purpose was similar to that of annotations and commentaries on the cultural context of the events narrated by Tacitus. They served as guides into almost every aspect of the Roman past, from ancient buildings to clothing and coins. Chronological tables and genealogies of the Roman emperors also are present in some translations. Interestingly, maps are not. In all the cases I have recorded, these materials were copied from Latin editions, mainly from Lipsius, and circulated from one translation to another.

Alamos de Barrientos's aphorisms are a good example of the many additions made to Tacitus's text. These short reflections on the abundant *sententia* of the original

shared the printed page with the original text. As Arnaldo Momigliano and Charles Davis have shown, Alamos plagiarized most of them from Annibale Scoto's *Comentarii ad politicam, & aulicam rationem*[154]. It is interesting, however, that while the original commentaries did not interrupt the text, Alamos's occupied a good portion of the margins. The reader therefore was confronted with a rival text that made practically impossible a continued reading of the Spanish translation. Early modern translators were aware of the effects on their readers of how the text was placed on the page. The anonymous P.D.B. referred in his preface to the debate between those who preferred the notes situated at the end and those who preferred them on the same page. The latter said it took too much time to locate endnotes, whereas the former claimed footnotes "are too distracting for readers, distancing them from the text or the author's meaning"[155].

Virtually anything could be printed together with a translation of Tacitus. In the previous chapter, for example, I mentioned the long letter on the rivalry between Italian dialects that Adriano Politi included in his version. Henry Savile included two complementary texts of this kind with his translation; the first was a short treatise on Roman army, and the second was an erudite disquisition on a passage by Polybius[156]. For the most part, these texts tell us how translators used Tacitus. Savile used him to discuss the Earl of Essex's military affairs and to convey certain ideas on the organization of the English army. Politi made the text Italian and used it in a linguistic confrontation. In this way, translations reflected the amplitude of what Hans Robert Jauss termed their "horizon of expectation" and provide precious information about how Tacitus's texts were read[157]. These books did not only contain Tacitus's texts, they presented them. Although the devices and interventions in early modern translations are to a certain extent similar, it is also clear that different translations promoted different interpretations.

It may seem equally obvious to say Tacitus's translations had readers in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is much more difficult to say who those readers were. Evidence is scarce, but it helps to question long-assumed suppositions regarding readership. A related and even more difficult question is how these readers read Tacitus's works. I will try to give some responses to these questions before going on to analyze the ways in which contemporaries perceived Tacitus's popularization. As with the case of shared perceptions on the European scope of Tacitus's reception, visions of Tacitus's popular readership provide insight into the European understanding of politics in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Translations immediately suggest a differentiated group of readers. Those who cannot read the original are the natural audience for translated texts. The history of reading, however, has not elucidated specific characteristics of readers of translations. Roger Chartier complained that historians of reading sometimes adopt socioeconomic distinctions used by social historians to define groups or classes and that the assumption of certain dualities (oral versus silent, private versus public, erudite versus popular) has led their research down the wrong path. Chartier concluded that, although those macroscopic approaches may be valid, there are other discrepancies (women versus men, urban versus rural, Catholic versus Protestant) that are similarly important and "social"[158].

Recalling Chartier's observations is useful because the historical study of translations has been greatly affected by one of the classic macroscopic dichotomies he distinguished, that between high and popular culture. It usually has been assumed that translations from the classics provided access to the wisdom of the ancients for those who had no education in Latin, and "vulgarization" is frequently used in Spanish and Italian as a synonym for translation. In this vein, Enrique Tierno Galván affirmed that the second phase of Tacitus's reception in Spain was characterized by its "translation and application to books that anyone could read, its popularization"[159]. It is common sense to say that a vernacular translation reaches a wider audience; in this regard, Francis O. Matthiesen reminded his readers that "the Elizabethan translator did not write for the learned alone, but for the whole country"[160].

However natural this may seem, the macroscopic differentiation between two separate audiences came in for criticism after the cultural historian Peter Burke demonstrated in a well-known book the circularity that linked elite and popular culture in early modern Europe[161]. As I have shown, many of the additional materials and ideas on the value and uses of Tacitus that appeared in vernacular editions had originally been introduced in Latin ones. On some occasions, however, communication between Latin and vernacular took the other direction; this was the case with the notes in Savile's English translation. Freinsheim praised Savile's erudition in the notes and planned to translate all of them into Latin to be published in a separate volume[162]. A similar case is that of the three bilingual editions in Latin and German, French, and Italian printed in Frankfurt in 1612.

Is it possible to detect a particular mode of reading translations? The formal characteristics, annotations, and additional material in translated books cannot provide a satisfactory answer. But they give small clues. For obvious reasons, printed an-

notations or marginal glosses on linguistic or philological matters are less frequent. However they do not disappear completely. Difficult readings of the Latin text often are indicated, and at times they prompt a note or commentary. Alamos's translation regularly proposes two or more renderings for one sentence. The various alternatives are located within the text – in square brackets – or in the margins. Corrupt passages and missing text are indicated in most translations, and readers are constantly exhorted to appreciate Tacitus's short, concise style.

The erudite apparatus that characterises the most important Latin editions is not usually present in translated versions, but, as I have previously indicated, references to other classical works and historical commentaries on customs, rites, magistrates, and other questions do not disappear either. Most of the interpretive guidelines in Latin editions – mainly about the utility of Tacitus's texts for deciphering contemporary history – also are found in prefaces and dedications to translations. In fact, most of these preliminaries argue that those were the characteristics that motivated the translation.

It is my impression that translations were less annotated than Latin editions. In contrast to the twenty or thirty Latin copies with handwritten annotations of which I have notice, I have found only one French copy and one Spanish copy with extensive notes in the margins. In general the scribbled annotations show similar procedures and reading techniques. The French one was annotated by the erudite Pierre Daniel Huet as if he were reading a Latin work. The interest of the anonymous Spanish reader was exclusively political, and he made no historical or erudite comments. This is interesting, because there is not much difference between the number of political comments between Latin and vernacular editions, whereas there are differences with regard to historical or philological matters. I am suggesting, therefore, that political readings of Tacitus were at least as active in the vernacular as in Latin.

A related question: Who were the readers of Tacitus's translations in early modern Europe? The answer is almost as difficult as the previous one. Ascertaining who constitutes the actual audience for any text, even of last year's bestseller, is already complicated, and the task is more so when dealing with early modern translations. However, "popular readers" is surely not the only answer. The most common hypothesis is that learned men of the 16th and 17th centuries knew Latin, the European *lingua franca*, and therefore they read classics in the original. But there are reasons to question this assumption. First, following Theodor S. Beardsley, we will "leave aside the question of whether Renaissance and *Siglo de Oro* authors *could* read Latin and Greek in order

to raise another: *did* they?"[163]. Originals were not always easy to buy or even to borrow, and translations into any vernacular represented a good alternative. As we have seen, even when they had the Latin original at hand, scholars such as Freinsheim or Canini used translations. They employed them, as many of their contemporaries probably did, to complete the meaning of the original, as a basis for a new translation, or, as William Drake did, to gain better insight into Tacitus's works.

Fernando Pérez de Sousa included a table of quotations from Tacitus in his translation of Boccalini's *Ragguagli* intended for "those who do not know Latin or do not have complete knowledge of this language"[164]. Between the best Latinist and the unlearned reader there existed a whole gamut of readers of very different linguistic skills, and Tacitus's Latin may have represented an obstacle for many readers, including those who had considerable knowledge of Latin. Resorting to a translation would have constituted a solution. Knowledge of Latin, moreover, does not necessarily indicate a dividing line between popular and elite readers. The ideal of the learned noble who combined knowledge in both arms and letters was not always found in reality. In 1604 Spain, Bernardino de Mendoza dedicated his translation of Lipsius's *Politics* to "the Spanish nobility who do not understand Latin"[165].

In fact, it may be misguided to ask if classical authors were read in "the original" or in "translated books". Even if we formulate the question in specific terms – e.g. did Quevedo read Tacitus's *Annals* in Latin, Spanish, or another vernacular? – the answer may be deceptive. What I am proposing here is to consider that contact with the classics took place over a range of possibilities. At one end stands the reading of the original text followed by Latin commentaries and annotations, translations, discourses and commentaries in the vernacular, and literal quotations in other works. At the other end lies imitation and adaptation. In all these forms, simultaneously, the classics permeated 16th- and 17th-century European culture. Beardsley suggested that "to a large extent" classical influence on Spanish literature in the 16th and 17th centuries was "controlled" by translations into Spanish or by other "intermediaries in the realm of existing literary traditions, imitations, and commentaries"[166]. Quevedo surely read Tacitus's *Annals* in Latin, but he also used quotations he found in Boccalini and elsewhere.

Translations themselves provide a curious answer to the question. A double audience, a general implied reader and a smaller, closer public, was in the mind of many early modern translators. Even if we set aside manuscript translations that circulated in smaller circles, it is impossible not to admit that some translations were

intended for a restricted audience[167]. Translators sometimes gave clues regarding their concrete intentions and the restricted publication contexts they had in mind. Unfortunately, the extent and implications of patronage relationships are in most cases equally complicated to assess. Theodore S. Beardsley stated this difficulty in a wonderfully logical manner: "only in some cases can we affirm, and in practically none can we deny, that the dedicatee gave material assistance to the translator"[168].

In their prefaces, translators spoke about the general readers they conceived or imagined, mingling these descriptions with rhetorical statements about the utility of the translator's work and his ethos. Even if their works were aimed at specific recipients (a noblemen, a patron), translators nonetheless had to transmit the idea of a general utility and a general readership. Apart from that, they also criticized and distorted the image of popular or general readers. Basically, all evidence of 'popular' readers was originated by 'elite' writers. And most of that evidence consisted of criticism of what 'elite' authors regarded as Tacitus's growing popularization. As I will show in the next section, in most cases these testimonies constitute an interesting source for understanding the reception of Tacitus in early modern Europe.

Popularization

Beatriz Antón Martínez has argued that the number of actual readers of Tacitus's texts, even in their most simple vernacular versions, could never have been very high. However, she says, it must have been significant in contrast with those who had acquired a level of Latin proficiency sufficient for understanding Tacitus directly[169]. This contrast provoked many reflections, most of them highly critical of the spread of Tacitus's works. Therefore, even if the actual number of popular readers was not impressive, contemporaries perceived that Tacitus's works were being used by almost everyone.

The continual allusions to the populace or the people and to the supposedly wide reception of Tacitus's works are difficult to interpret. Here I begin dealing with this question by examining a special case in which a popular audience – even an illiterate one – could have contact with Tacitus's texts: public performances of plays in theatres. Once processed by playwrights, Tacitus's texts acquired a very different taste. Characters and plots were usually simplified, and considerations on virtue and vice were exaggerated.

Some of the characters who appear in Tacitus, especially Tiberius and Nero, were ripe for dramatic plays. They offered strong, definite, and polemical personalities to

playwrights, who easily could make them synonymous with vice. In Lope de Vega's *El castigo sin venganza* (1631), we find an example of immoral and criminal behaviour attributed to Tiberius: "It's pretty serious this / And brings to mind the Emperor / Tiberius. He had his missus recently /Snuffed out, no fuss, but then forgets/ That she's a goner, so shouts out: / 'It's time for dinner'"[170]. Nero plays a central role in Lope's *Roma abrasada*. In a similar way, pamphlets played their part in the creation of stereotypes. In England, the author or authors of *A Declaration Shewing the Necessity of the Earle of Straffords Suffering* (1641) said Strafford was "as libidinous as Tiberius, cruell as Nero, covetous as rich Cressus, as terrible as Phalaris, as mischievous as Sejanus"[171].

This kind of character had a significant role in the theatre of the 16th and 17th centuries. In France, a play titled *La mort de Germanic Caesar* opposed Tiberius to Germanicus as models of a tyrannical and a virtuous ruler. It also had an immediate political reading, since it was dedicated to Henry of Lorraine, a leader of the count of Soisson's 1641 revolt against Richelieu[172]. But it was in England that Tacitus's works were most publicised by means of the theatre. In plays such as John Hayward's *First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henry IV* and Ben Jonson's *Sejanus, his fall* (the latter first performed in 1603 and published in 1605 and 1616), a large audience became acquainted with these texts[173]. Historical theatre was a particularly dangerous medium. Characters of the past were brought to life and given flesh and blood, which made it especially easy to do what Henry Wotton considered a politician should do when reading a story: "find the characters of personages and apply them to some of the Court he lives in"[174].

Hayward's play was dedicated to the Earl of Essex; Elizabeth I considered it a "seditious prelude to put into the peoples heads boldnesse and faction". When she asked Francis Bacon about this matter, he said he considered there had been no treason but that the "Author had committed very apparent theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text"[175]. Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Edward Coke also used this play to try to prove that the Essex conspiracy had been premeditated, producing Hayward's speeches as evidence of the conspirators' intentions[176].

Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, which aroused suspicion after the first rehearsals, was articulated around a very particular historical character who inevitably was compared to the figure of the favourite in general. Jonson was called to testify before the Privy Council and interrogated by Henry Howard, son of the Earl of Northampton[177].

He denied any connection between his play and events in England of the time. This may have resulted in Jonson's eliminating certain parts of the play, and it is likely that it prompted him to establish a system of marginal references that allowed for the verification of the truthfulness of the events in the play and thus allowed him to anchor his work in the past, where it was safer[178].

These two plays and their outcomes are examples of historical interpretation projected onto the present and of the reception of Tacitus's texts through different channels. Tacitus's contents and characters appeared here in a different medium, were made accessible to a potentially more numerous public, and were the object of new interpretations. Despite the fact that every play implied a certain degree of popularization, there was a difference between Jonson's *Sejanus* and the simply wicked Sejanus in plays such as *The Stately Tragedy of Claudius Tiberius Nero*. Whereas Jonson's play denounced Sejanus's tyranny and his control over public affairs and recalled old republican freedoms, the latter depiction, the more common one, leaned towards more twisted political interpretations, easy to convey through the dramatic medium. As Alan Bradford showed, by 1636 we can speak of a cycle of plays based on Tacitus's themes. Notwithstanding the difficulties of measuring extent and effect, this seems significant in terms of the popularization of Tacitus[179].

Apart from using Tacitus's texts in a simplified manner to construe characters and plots, a number of authors also put Tacitus in the mouths of popular personages, a tactic with comic and satirical possibilities in a popular context. Francisco López de Úbeda's *La pícara Justina* (1605) provides an example. In this picaresque novel, Tacitus is no longer a Roman historian. Instead, his name becomes an insult: the main character, Justina, tells another character, Fullero, that his (illegitimate) father was called "the son of Cornelio Tacito on his mother's side and of the rabbi Sidraque on his father's". The 'elite' author of the novel thus bestows upon Justina, a very common character, a certain, albeit distorted knowledge of Tacitus. López de Úbeda not only uses Tacitus as a generic reference for evil, he takes advantage of connotations and plays on words with "Cornelius", the root of which is the Spanish term for "horns", which alludes to adultery. Tacitus appears this way in an unpredictably popular context[180].

Francisco de Quevedo may have been making similar use of the name "Cornelius Tacitus" in a romance entitled *Documentos de un marido antiguo a otro moderno*: *Ansí a solas industriaba, / como un Tácito Cornelio, / a un maridillo flamante / un maridísimo viejo*. Here Quevedo shows an old married man, either named or called

Tacitus, instructing a younger one like a wise counsellor. The passage also has an ironic reading if we invert Tacitus's name and surname: tacit (or silent) deceived husband, as "Cornelio" is similar to "*cornudo*", the Spanish term for a deceived husband[181]. Miguel de Cervantes, meanwhile, gave the name Tacitus to a student in his *El laberinto de amor*[182]. This kind of fragmentary evidence of the presence of Tacitus in popular literature helps explain how translators dealt with his popularization in the prefaces and dedications of his works.

The popularity and wide circulation of Tacitus's works contradicted to a great extent early modern notions about the ideal recipients of his texts. This explains why most authors of translations, commentaries, and editions did not imagine a general reader but tried instead to direct themselves to a specific and restricted one, and why too they did not generally address a popular audience but, rather, one comprising princes and magistrates. As with so many other texts of the period, Tacitus's works are dedicated to kings, noblemen, and to more or less influential figures in different spheres of government. These dedications arose from patronage conventions of the time. Making use of these conventions, translators and authors of commentaries on Tacitus wanted to provide their works with the best possible protection. Dedications often argued that, because of the nature of their contents, Tacitus's works constituted a matter specifically pertinent to princes and rulers. The rhetorical compliments bestowed upon patrons stated once again that Tacitus's works were especially well suited to them. Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, in his dedication to the Duke of Lerma, for example, urged the duke to receive and support his text "because of its subject matter, most appropriate to his grandeur, his house, and his public status"[183].

Obviously, we have to take these dedications a bit cautiously. Tacitus's works were repeatedly dedicated to princes and selected noblemen, it is true. It is also probable that some dedicatees read Tacitus intensively and may even have sponsored the publication of translations or commentaries. But it is questionable that this small group of recipients constituted the majority of Tacitus's readers. Publishing a book designed exclusively for princes countered the very logic of publication. On the other hand, the publication of translated versions widened the gap between the ideal recipients of the text and its actual readers. Translators therefore were situated in a paradox: they had to satisfy their patrons' needs for classical scholarship, justify the public utility of their work, and condemn the popularization of Tacitus's work.

Many translators also had to address the fact that there were many commentaries on Tacitus as well as previous versions of his texts. Sometimes they alluded to the

great number of previous works to defend the utility and relevance of the new one. Tacitus's popularization went hand in hand with the growing number of books on politics since the last quarter of the 16th century. Many European authors, as we have seen, perceived a superabundance of books dealing with politics. The teachings of this new discipline were viewed with suspicion, as politics were supposed to be forbidden for the public at large or concealed and dealt with in secret. Those who commented on Tacitus's texts or who based their writings about politics on Tacitus's works had to account for this increase. That was the case of Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, who in 1614 stated, "today there is no book or discourse on such matters that does not make use of him [Tacitus]"[184]. Tacitus's translations had became a prominent part of the problem of the transmission of political knowledge in early modern Europe.

The Spaniard Pedro Ponce de León, who was afraid of the negative effects of Tacitus's popularization, tried to prevent the publication of what he thought was the first Spanish translation, which Herrera sent to the Council of Castile for its approbation in 1613. To that end, he wrote his *Censura sobre los Annales, y Historias de Caio Cornelio Tácito, para consultar, si será bien imprimir en español su traducción* [Judgement on Caius Cornelius Tacitus's Annals and Historiae and consultation on whether or not its Spanish translation should be published]. For Ponce, it was clear that translations were moving Tacitus's texts from the hands of authorised users and interpreters into the hands of everyone else: "as much as these works are beneficial to those few who discretely understand them in their original form, they would be harmful were they to circulate in the vulgate to people of both sexes and of all ages and status"[185].

In 1614 Richard Braithwait similarly pointed out, not without irony, the dangers of levelling the linguistic and stylistic barriers that safeguarded Tacitus and the mysteries of state his works contained: "so much is our Country benefited by Translators, as the Neatheard [cowherd] in his Hovel may discourse as well of Cornelius Tacitus (if he know his mothers tongue) as our best Latinist"[186]. Only a year later, another Spaniard, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, complained of the "excessive esteem and attention paid by Christians to pagan histories, in particular to those of Cornelius Tacitus", and he asked what good so many vernacular versions did if they only served to "ruin the ignorant"[187].

In the early modern period, *arcana imperii* [secrets of state] designated a forbidden sphere of knowledge[188]. Critics of Tacitus's popularization, as well as the great majority of vernacular translators, agreed that such secrets had to be protected from

commoners' lust for knowledge. The printing of Tacitus's texts obviously did just the opposite; it helped expose such knowledge to the most vulgar people. To prevent the publication of Spanish translations, Ponce de León resorted precisely to this kind of early modern prejudice. He argued that the idea of a narrow group of suitable Tacitus interpreters was present already in Justus Lipsius: "[Tacitus] wrote with prudence and perspicacity, and as, according to Lipsius, whoever reads these texts should likewise have these two qualities, it seems to me that since common people usually lack both, and since those well suited to read it could do so in the original, this could result in general harm"[189]. Tacitus himself, continued Ponce the León, had recommended in his works that government secrets not be revealed to the populace. To Ponce, it was necessary to write "briefly and obscurely", bearing in mind that "disclosure of the empire's secrets would decrease the strength of its power"[190].

If the purpose of the vogue of publications around Tacitus had been to educate princes and rulers, Tacitus's works would have been circulated and read according to very different patterns. At least this is what Ponce's *Censura* argued, and to that end he indicated some ways in which the text could be circulated while controlling both the number and quality of those with access. Tacitus's works "were not appropriate to be printed in Spanish and divulged to the people", and even if it were necessary to translate them to make them accessible to princes, they should never be printed. "Translated and handwritten" texts remained worthy of "Maecenas and the great Alexander"[191]. This form of reception was not merely Ponce de León's *desideratum*. Handwritten copies of Tacitus's texts, such as the Spanish translation by Antonio de Toledo, circulated during the 16th and 17th centuries[192].

As Séverine Delahaye has shown with respect to Spanish Golden Age poetry, manuscript circulation restricted the number of readers to the narrow circle for whom the text was intended. The restriction lay not only in the production of fewer copies distributed to known people, but the manuscript itself constituted "a discriminating factor between those able to read only printed characters, and those, who having learned to write, could also read handwritten texts"[193]. However, manuscript and printed texts do not imply separate circulation patterns. The dissemination of Álamos de Barrientos's aphorisms in 17th-century Spain shows, for instance, how handwritten and printed copies circulated at the same time. The aphorisms were printed in the wide margins of the 1614 translation; they also were published in 1614 in a separate version, without Tacitus's text, and attributed to Benito Arias Montano, whereas handwritten copies circulated both before and after the appearance of these works[194]. In addition, manuscript circulation was not the perfect rem-

edy against dangerous works, since handwritten text could be equally dangerous. Fernando Bouza has shown that the circulation of handwritten copies of Trajano Boccalini's works on Tacitus with comments on Philip II's government was perceived as a potential danger by Spanish authorities, who tried to stop it[195].

Tacitus's works in the hands of common people, shopkeepers, tradesmen, etc., endangered not only state secrets but the whole social order. A Swedish dialogue of the four estates warned against the reading of Tacitus by those who, neglecting their "natural" occupations, went on to give advice on matters of the court. This topic was dealt with in specific terms: "Since burgomasters have begun to speak French and Italian, and have a book or two under their arm when they come to the office, it is become vulgar to speak of salt and cloth, for they must be telling us what Tacitus says, and how things stand at Court"[196]. Not only did it become vulgar to speak about commerce, but the social group implicit behind the pronoun in "they must be telling *us*" was left feeling unauthorised to talk on the very matters they considered exclusively theirs.

In the preface to his Spanish translation, Antonio de Herrera once again plagiarized Adriano Politi to speak with distaste about how the Latin author had come to be appreciated by commoners. He wrote, "be it a sign of the times or of the great authority with which he is regarded, Tacitus is so often imitated that he who does not quote him cannot be esteemed"[197]. Politi and Herrera here suggest that common people not only had the ability to esteem those who spoke about political matters, but that Tacitus had become an indispensable source of authority for anyone who wanted to influence public opinion.

It is not easy to ascertain if there was indeed a true popular reception, but there is no doubt it was understood to be a source of disorder. The first and most profound suggestion that Tacitus could lead to subversion of the social order was made by Trajano Boccalini in his *Ragguagli di Parnaso*. At a certain point in that work, Tacitus is accused of having produced artificial "political spectacles" with an obvious subversive potential, since they allowed people to see inside princes' minds. These spectacles, created and disseminated by Tacitus, were a metaphor for what his writings allegedly did: "they so refine and sharpen their sight, as they make them see and prie into the most hidden and secret thoughts of others, yea even into the centre of their hearts"[198].

Apollo, who summoned Tacitus to judge the possible disorders caused by the latter's spectacles, spoke of a particular group that was not to be allowed access: "And that above all, he should take especial care, never to impart or communicate any unto those turbulent or factious spirits, which in seditious and dusky seasons, might

serve in stead of bright lamps, or farseene beacons to that simple race of men, which is easily governed, as wanting the glorious light of letters, may be said to be blind and without a guide"[199]. At the same time that Boccalini refers to the dangers of letting commoners gain access to Tacitus, the passage also criticizes rulers who attempt to blind their vassals. This ambivalence sometimes makes it difficult to interpret a text as satirical and ironic as Boccalini's.

The other passage in which Boccalini depicts Tacitus in popular hands comes at the end of Apollo's imprecation against Lipsius and against the Latin historian's "doctrine most assuredly infernal". In the words of Apollo, Boccalini here seems to condemn the infernal doctrine, which "having been sown by its cultivator Tacitus only for the benefit of princes, is today so greedily received by men, and Tacitus so greatly esteemed". This particular kind of reception is problematic because an author who previously had been "sown and dispersed abroad, only for the benefit of Princes", had come to be "embraced and cherished with such insatiate greediness, by private and mean subjects". Politics had left the high, specialized, aristocratic sphere and fallen into a wider public space. The situation was worrying, since "Tacitus, who was herefore an Author held only worthy of Princes, does now so publicly pass from hand to hand among all men, that even Shop-keepers, fachius and base porters shew not themselves more cunning in any profession than of State policies". Dissemination among the unworthy leads to the "great contempt and derision of an Art held in highest regard and reputation of great men"[200].

Diego Saavedra Fajardo also wrote on the negative impact of the popularization of Tacitus: "I do not know if he did more harm to the public peace than the inventor of gunpowder. Such are tyrannical doctrines, and such is the poison extracted from this source, whom the French scholar Guillaume Budé called the most evil writer ever"[201]. Saavedra modelled his criticism on Boccalini's description of the social threat represented by Tacitus. In fact, the *Ragguagli* was the principal source describing Tacitus's most dangerous readers and readings. Thomas Overbury, for instance, depicted one such popular reader as *A Meere Fellow of a House*, a character "whose hopes commonly exceed his fortunes and whose mind soars above his purse" and who "If he hath read Tacitus, Guicciardine or Gallo-Belgicus, he condemns the late Lord-Treasurer for all the state policy he had"[202].

The English dramatist Ben Jonson put forward a no less satirical portrait of the popular reader. In one of his epigrams, he proposed adding a new cry to those offering cherries and strawberries in London: "Ripe Statesmen, ripe: They grow in every Street; /

At six and twenty, ripe". Jonson ridiculed these statesmen's appearance and garments ("Ripe are their Ruffs, their Cuffs, their Beards"), but mostly he ridiculed their paranoid knowledge of current political affairs, which they concealed with whispers, suspicion, and even with invisible ink made of lemon or onion juice. Jonson places these characters in the marketplace and questions the nature of their alleged knowledge: "They know the States of Christendom, not the Places: / Yet have they seen the Maps, and bought 'em too, / And understand 'em, as most Chapmen do". Jonson's parody goes on: "The Counsels, Projects, Practices they know, / And what each Prince does for Intelligence owe, / And unto whom: They are the Almanacks / For Twelve Years yet to come, what each State lacks". And to arrive at a final climax he adds that "They carry in their Pockets Tacitus, / And the Gazetti, or Gallo-Belgicus" [203].

Alan Bradford has said that since Henry Savile and Richard Greenwey's translation would not fit in pockets because of its size, these popular readers "must have used an excerpted and digested version: perhaps the 1594 English translation of Lipsius's *Politica*"[204]. This is a very clever point that reminds us of the varied material forms of Tacitus's works in the early modern period and the connections between different forms and potential uses of the text. However, Bradford did not identify the links between Overbury and Jonson. The two sets of three readings proposed by Overbury and Jonson ("Tacitus, Guicciardine, or Gallo-Belgicus" and "Tacitus, and the Gazetti, or Gallo-Belgicus") are strikingly similar, and so are their criticisms of the garments of characters who speak about Tacitus. This link indicates that the imagery of Tacitus's popularization did not necessarily derive from reality, but rather became a cliché with its own literary life.

Does all this evidence, as Alan Bradford suggests, mean Tacitus had passed from the status of a cult to that of a fad?[205] Obviously, the growing dissemination of editions, commentaries, translations, and political works depicting Tacitus's works as exclusive, obscure, and reserved for the highest ranks of state machinery, was falling into the most flagrant contradiction. As Tacitus's works became more and more famous and accessible, their privileged status progressively was lost. As they were overused, their meaning lost context and nuance until they became similar to a mere stereotype. Nevertheless, the popularization of Tacitus itself became a stereotype, and it is sometimes difficult to assess if it was actually happening or was just a commonplace by writers to create a negative vision of the classical author.

Tacitus's popular readers of the 16th and 17th centuries certainly prove elusive to the historian. First, it is difficult to establish the means by which Tacitus could have

reached the illiterate. Second, it is also difficult to define a specific mode of reading for translations different from the general techniques and methods current in the early modern era. Third, evidence of Tacitus's popularization is biased by the opinions and judgements of elite writers. Moreover, the perception that contemporaries had of Tacitus's reception is full of paradoxical statements. Behind all these difficulties, however, we find an interestingly nuanced vision of Tacitus's reception.

Critics who held prejudicial perceptions of Tacitus's audience also disliked popular knowledge of and participation in politics. Translations obviously were devised for a wider audience than were Latin editions. Printers wanted to sell as many copies as possible, and some probably did sell lots. Translators, however, though they recognized the growing popularity of Tacitus, struggled to maintain a restricted image of Tacitus's ideal recipient. A vivid image of this contradiction appears in Canini's introductory discourse to his compilation. Explaining to his readers how to benefit from reading Tacitus, Canini says Tacitus's political and moral teachings refer to "all sorts of people, from supreme governors to the basest subjects and servants, even of the feminine sex". However, he explains that "those referring to Princes and their ministers" constitute "the greatest number" and were "more sought after, more avidly read, and more followed"[206]. Canini here implicitly reveals the kind of reader he has in mind: neither the basest subject nor the prince, but someone interested in acquiring deeper knowledge of both, of rulers as well as their subjects. Someone, in the end, closer to himself (he was secretary to an ambassador), involved in the lesser spheres of government through intellectual activities. Perceptions of the popular reception of Tacitus stemmed, finally, from two aspects that I will analyze with greater detail in the next chapter: how translators conceived their intellectual activity and the specific contexts towards which their translations were targeted.

Apart from their material aspect as books with concrete readers, translations were the product of specific contexts. It would be impossible to understand the historical peculiarities of Tacitus's reception without understanding translators. The perception of contemporaries was that translations altered a supposedly calm landscape of European politics – obviously an idealized, unreal perspective. They introduced a series of novel approaches to politics that became more dangerous to the social order the more they became known. These large-scale movements started with a series of successive, concrete translations, each directed to a specific audience and composed by a particular person. These circumstances are what I analyse next.

3. Translators in context

Every translation is the work of a translator, whose authorship is added to that of the original author. At first glance, the translator by definition is in an inferior position vis-à-vis the author of the original text, but in fact their connection can be a very variable one. Today, translators' names are generally hidden in small print on the page where publishers supply copyright information, the ISBN number, etc. Translators and editors of technical and scientific books are generally better treated, and their names sometimes appear on book covers. The same is true of critical editions, in which translators usually include a preface and explanatory notes.

Tacitus's translators in the early modern era worked similarly to today's editors of critical editions, though the former had far more authority over their translated text. In most cases, the translator's name appeared on the title page along with that of Tacitus. Alongside these two names one could often find the name of the person to whom the work was dedicated. In their prefaces and dedicatory words, translators generally made a great effort to present themselves and their own work. The various vernacular versions of Tacitus were referred to by the name of the translator. As we have seen, it was not unusual for Álamos, Savile, Perrot d'Ablancourt, Politi, or any other translator to be the one criticized or praised for the quality of the published translation.

Although Tacitus's authorship obviously was never in question, once a book was published it was the translator who assumed the role of author. This "author function" (*fonction-auteur*) could be seen most especially in the way translators participated in what Michel Foucault called the "penal appropriation" of discourse[207]. It was the translator who was responsible for the final product. Privileges, approbations, and the requisite licenses were usually in their name, and it was the translator who was directly in charge of negotiating with the publisher-bookseller regarding publication. All these works therefore display a certain slippage as a result of their double contextualization, the old Roman original and the new, early modern publication. From the point of view of the translator, every version of Tacitus was "new". It was a new book designed for a specific audience and a concrete situation. This new context was also in large part determined by the book's patronage. Thus one can consider each of the translations of Tacitus in an isolated fashion in accordance with the book's unique intentions and purposes.

Historians have drawn up long lists of questions aimed at understanding early modern translations. Peter Burke, for example, asked: Who translates? With what

intentions? What? For whom? In what manner? With what consequences?[208] Rebecca Boone, in her study of the French councillor Claude de Seyssel, formulated similar questions: Why did Seyssel undertake the translations? For whom were they intended? How did Seyssel conceive his task as a translator? And, finally, what can be inferred from his technique of translation?[209] This chapter will take up these questions, though not in a systematic way. I am particularly concerned with how translations of Tacitus were conceived in general, both by translators themselves and by their contemporaries, and in uncovering how translators integrated their work with the rest of their daily pursuits and activities. There are many differences among Tacitus's translators, but delving into these two areas reveals they also had many points in common.

Attitudes toward translating Tacitus

Translation was one of the basic didactic tools for learning Latin. Along with reading and undertaking detailed analyses of the classics, educated youths in the early modern era also had to translate classical works. The various humanist educational programs such as those of Erasmus, Luis Vives, or the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum* all took account of the varying difficulty of the classical authors, and each classified their works by their suitability for young students. Translations of Cornelius Tacitus did not constitute a major part of the early modern syllabus. There were two principal reasons for this: the difficulty of his Latin, inappropriate for beginners, and the content of his works, which were subject to multiple criticisms.

Nonetheless, we do have references to a few adolescent translators. Among the most outstanding was the nephew of Adriano Politi, Marcoantonio, who began translating Tacitus when he was just 14 years old. His Latin professor, Horatio Giannetti, who also was responsible for publishing Adriano Politi's translation in 1603, left a record of the young translator's apprenticeship. In Giannetti's preface to the reader, he says Marcoantonio already had translated letters of Cicero and Pliny, which is not surprising given that these works, particularly Cicero's *Familiar Letters*, were a frequent starting-off point in Latin studies. But being that the "young lad" found these texts too easy, his uncle decided to test him, and he gave him Tacitus's *Annals* and *Histories*, a way of bringing him down a notch. Giannetti writes that Politi himself considered Tacitus a challenge and was quite sure he would be too much for his nephew and of little use in polishing his Latin[210]. But the game turned out to be the basis for Politi's own translation.

Anthony Grafton has written about how Ludwig Kepler, the astronomer's fifth son, had to wrestle with Tacitus at an even younger age than Marcoantonio. When the boy was just six years old, Johannes Kepler, a great admirer of the Latin historian, taught his son Latin using Johannes's own German translation of Tacitus. Ludwig spent three years retranslating Tacitus from German back into Latin and then comparing his work with the original[211]. Years later, in 1625, Ludwig published his father's translation, which he had spent so many hours poring over, and also wrote the prologue[212].

Ithier Hobier was a less demanding father than Kepler. In around 1639, as he observed his two young sons studying, his mind wandered back to his own youth. Though there were many reasons for undertaking a translation of Tacitus, Hobier said, his principal motivation was to provide something useful to the two boys[213]. With that in mind, it is not surprising that he chose to translate *Agricola*, whose exemplary general stands in sharp contrast to the more polemical characters of emperors Tiberius and Nero. *Agricola* offered an "agreeable" biography, the most "virtuous" and "illustrious" ever written by Tacitus, Hobier said[214]. In yet another indication of the cross-European linkages underlying the translation of Tacitus, Hobier was following the example of Politi who, he said, translated Tacitus for his own nephews. So regardless of the texts' difficulty, we can see that to some degree they had become part of the syllabus for educated youths.

For Hobier, the translation was conceived as a way of helping his sons read Tacitus. Marcoantonio Politi and Ludwig Kepler were less fortunate and had to confront the original text head-on, despite the fact that contemporaries considered Tacitus inappropriate for young readers. In general, the Latin author appeared later on in youths' educational journey. Juan de Mariana, for example, in the sections of *De Rege* devoted to the prince's education, emphasizes how important it was to learn Latin well through a long apprenticeship of reading and translating the classics. First among the historians he recommended were Caesar, Sallust, and Livy. Then, once the young student had acquired a certain dexterity, "we can add Tacitus, whose language is difficult and thorny but full of brilliance, a treasure trove of statements and advice about the most serious of issues and a revelation regarding the dealings and fraud of the court"[215]. What is interesting about Mariana's proposed educational program (which a tutor such as Giannetti doubtless would have agreed with) is to whom it was directed. *De Rege*, and therefore also the suggestions regarding Tacitus, was written for the future Philip III. Mariana wrote the work at the urging of García de Loaysa, the archbishop of Toledo, one of the most important ecclesiastical figures of in the later years of Philip II's reign, and the crown prince's tutor[216].

Translations by adolescents and other similar works whose existence is unknown to us were not meant to be published. The object was to learn Latin, even if Tacitus was not considered a suitable vehicle for that purpose. The Spanish critic Pedro Ponce de León maintained that translations amounted to "printing the art of politics in the language of children and young women". Latin, on the other hand, established a filter preventing access regardless of age and whim (*afecto*)[217]. As we have seen, Ponce de León did not want Tacitus to leave his original Latin. But for others, the difficulty of the language offered a golden opportunity to present themselves as expert interpreters both of the original text and its political message. We are here especially interested in those instances in which the translator, once the work becomes public, is – willingly or not – regarded as the author. In the private realm, a translation of Tacitus might be considered a simple exercise, but once it reaches a publisher, its purpose and objectives must be explained, and it was generally the translator who was in charge of justifying the project and explaining why he had chosen to translate Tacitus. Such a justification was not an easy matter for, as we have seen, these new translations were received in an environment disposed toward polemic.

In interpreting attitudes toward translations of Tacitus, once again we must take into account the conventional nature of prefaces and other front matter[218]. Luce Guillerm has pointed out that many stereotypes concerning translations accompany rather than reflect translation practices, and that the link between "theory" and actual practice, as it appears in preliminary texts, is doubly contradictory. On the one hand there is a "relative impoverishment" of precise reflections regarding translation, but at the same time we see an "enrichment of those aspects that can ensure the message's effectiveness, taking into account and reinforcing the active imagination of recipients"[219]. The representation of translators in these sources therefore varies and depends greatly on the point of view from which the preliminary texts are written. Theo Hermans has written, "In prefaces, and even more so in dedications, the expected stance is one of modesty, even self-depreciation". In contrast, "congratulatory poems" are "given to overstatement and hyperbole" and "invariably upgrade the translator's achievement and projected self-image"[220]. Using the necessary precautions, we find a relatively small number of themes that are continually repeated and reelaborated, behind which are hidden the ways in which early modern translation was perceived.

One of the clichés most commonly repeated by Tacitus's translators was that translation was an idle pursuit, but one must realize in this regard that attitudes toward translation in large part mimicked attitudes and stigmas toward publication in general. Tacitus's early modern translators inhabited the same context that Wendy Wall

described in her discussion of the formation of the literary category of "author": "in the collision between manuscript and print practices on the one hand, and between aristocratic amateurism and the marketplace on the other"[221].

Many translators said they composed their versions of Tacitus during times of leisure. Itier Hobier, who elsewhere refers to himself as a royal councillor and treasurer of the Levantine navy, considered his translation of *Agricola* to be a mere diversion (*divertissement*), entertainment "sufficiently honest to be excused". He could imagine no other activity "as innocent and agreeable to my inclinations, given the idleness to which I am reduced", he wrote in his preface[222]. Thus the translator defined himself not by his translations but by his other activities. Translations were simply, as Leandro de San Martín said of translator Carlos Coloma, "the fruit of recreation". Hobier and Leandro de San Martín's notions reveal a typically early modern theory of idleness. For San Martín, translation was an excellent way to spend one's vacation, and Coloma's translation, he said, should inspire great and noble spirits to choose this kind of leisure activities, and not others[223]. Likewise, Francis Bacon wrote, "Studies serve for pastimes, for ornaments & for abilities ... [The] chief use for pastime is privateness and retiring"[224].

Translation as an intellectual activity was conceived not only as a pastime but as an activity worthy of a nobleman skilled in both arms and letters. In his laudatory dedication to Coloma's translation, San Martín said the work reflected "the perfection bestowed upon him by God in the exercise of war and peace, arms and letters". This dedication constitutes a case unto itself, as the commonplace normally was directed to translators' patrons, not to the translators themselves. Coloma acted here both as translator and patron, since Leandro de San Martín published Coloma's manuscript without permission and dedicated the work to Coloma himself, a well-known soldier and ambassador.

The arms-and-letters theme in fact was widespread in representations of the "perfect" nobleman in early modern Europe. One of the best-known works on the subject was Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman*[225]. The frontispiece, carefully analyzed by Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbow, shows arms, the external adornments of the nobility, intertwined with knowledge, the internal adornment of the mind. Knowledge is illustrated by various objects situated beneath a cherub, symbolizing the arts that a gentleman should know. In addition to music, painting, and geometry, we see three books representing history and morality: the authors are Plutarch, Thucydides, and Tacitus[226]. Not only reading, then, but also translation was considered part of an ideal nobleman's proper training and enjoyment.

Among the other frequent commonplaces in connection with translations composed in leisure time were commissions by a real or imagined third party, publication at the urging of friends, and publication against the will or without the knowledge of the author. These three options, rhetorical introductions of the translator, are devised as remedies against the vanity of publication, situating the translation as a service to others. Thus, for example, Antonio de Herrera said he willingly took on the translation "to satisfy observers who deemed I should do so"[227].

The opposite model is that of Pedro Ponce de León, which consists of resisting all pressures to publish a work. His approach was, in fact, a concrete response to the publication of Antonio de Herrera's translation. Ponce de León admitted he had heard that "the Council sent the *censura* of a certain translation to Father Juan Luis de la Cerda, of the Company of Jesus, so he could determine if it would be appropriate to publish in Spanish"[228]. This was Herrera's translation, printed in March 1615, though the bureaucratic formalities began much earlier. Juan Luis de la Cerda's approbation was dated 19 March 1613, so Ponce de León must have thought there was still time to stop the appearance of Tacitus in Spanish. He may even have written his *Censura* before the publication of Sueyro's translation in January 1613 (though he may not have known about this latter work) and certainly did so before the appearance of Álamos's translation at the end of November 1614.

Curiously enough, Ponce the censor starts off by presenting himself as the author of a manuscript translation of Tacitus. But in contrast to the world of publication, he offers the image of intellectual activity in a private, leisurely setting. His translation, he says, was finished "bit by bit, in odd moments in the idleness of Rome"; the idea was to "spend time on this project without anyone knowing about it". According to him, he was uninterested in reaping the fruits of his labor but undertook the task only to satisfy his friends, "who wanted to see this translation in print". The *Censura* thus was conceived as an explication of "the motives, which removed all desire to print my translation"[229].

The most interesting example of this phenomenon may be Adriano Politi, the Italian translator, who withdrew from the world to the "safe and calm port of the holy religion of the Jesuit fathers". His translation, meanwhile, was in the hands of Giannetti, who pleaded with Politi, after two other Italian translations of Tacitus had appeared, to "make an effort to revise it and publish it for the good of the world". Politi agreed to revise his work but refused to consent to its publication, offering various arguments, chief among them his "modesty". In fact, his translation had al-

ready been published in 1603 under a pseudonym, Paolino Arnolfini, which Giannetti pointed out in 1604 when Politi finally agreed to publish. That year, Politi himself wrote a long letter concerning the second edition of his translation, and the commonplaces appeared once again. Politi said the two reasons impelling him to publish were "the judgment of my friends, who considered it worthy to be seen by the world" and "today's practice of going to press with ease and permission, and without punishment"[230].

All these feints and hesitations by translators, authentic or not, have a great deal in common with the warnings, justifications, and explanations offered by early modern authors as they published their works. This may appear to tell us nothing, but in fact it is very telling indeed. It shows us that to some degree, translators regarded translations as they did other published works. In an era witnessing the emergence of the concept of "authorship" and the role of "author", it is highly significant that translation was considered, at least by those who performed it, as a public activity similar to other publishing. There may have been some sense of inferiority between a translation and an original work, but the line was nowhere as clearly fixed as it is today.

Many translators assumed full responsibility for their work. A good example is Álamos de Barrientos, who referred to his *Tácito español* as "my work"[231]. Referring to the gap in the fifth book of the *Anales*, Álamos explained to his readers that he planned to complete the work (as Savile and Le Maistre did with their supplements) but had postponed it "for another day, when the response to this work encourages me to do another"[232]. We can see that Álamos considered his translation to be his own work, something that stood on its own, through which he established a direct relationship to readers. Similarly, Emanuel Sueyro, in this case in his translation of Velleius Paterculus dedicated to Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, referred to the translation as part of "his works"[233].

Translations had their own dignity. Though they depended on a previous work, they had, at the very least, their own status. Baltasar de Céspedes, a professor of rhetoric at the University of Salamanca in the early 17th century, offered a very expressive definition of this particular status; in his *Discurso de las letras humanas* he called translations works "of great utility" and "no less important" than the other humanities[234]. In Politi's 1604 letter referred to above, the Italian not only repeated commonplaces, he also described how Giannetti tried to persuade him to publish his translation. Giannetti invoked the example of celebrated translators of antiquity, especially Cic-

ero, and of Christian saints who also had devoted themselves to this pursuit. His arguments, though they did not convince Politi, constituted a true defense of both the antiquity and the status of translation. Politi, despite all his objections, makes clear that for him translation was a tool for creating an elite, literary, and cultured vernacular language distinct from the speech of commoners and women. Therefore he helped his nephews "choose words and the way of saying them". The translators' goal, Politi said, was to preserve to some degree the "naturalness of speech" as spoken by women and commoners but not without art nor by reducing language to "women's simplicity and the dictates of the *vulgo*". Translators must preserve the seriousness (*gravità*) of the writer "so as to be understood by men"[235].

Translators also emphasized the importance of their task when discussing the stylistic and linguistic demands by which they were bound. Antonio de Herrera, for example, said it was well known "how difficult it is to interpret from one language to another" and that the more differences there are between tongues, "the greater the difficulty" in the translation. For that reason, he said, "much has been written about how a translation should be done"[236]. An awareness of the difficulty, together with the eternal controversy over literal translation, helped make the final product appear as the translator's own work. When translators explained the problems and focus of their work, they generally took advantage of the moment to underline how important it was. The particularly difficult nature of Tacitus's Latin provided a good opportunity to reflect on that importance.

Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos wrote that any translation must attend to two challenges: a faithful translation, and the correctness with which one writes. He immediately went on to note the common good deriving from his translation and the effort he had made to meet these two challenges: "For the common good, I have tried *with my labor* to not go too far in either of these two respects"[237]. Álamos leaned toward literal translation (*a la letra*) and demonstrated scrupulous respect for Tacitus's brevity. When he was unable to respect these principles, he inserted brief notes in square brackets to clarify the meaning of the text. This method allowed readers to reject notes they considered "of little necessity"[238]. All these considerations directly affected the way a translator transmitted Tacitus's texts. For Álamos, literal translation was essential for retaining "the fruit of his doctrine". Some translators of Tacitus, Sallust, and Thucydides, he added, committed the error of injecting "pomp and a multitude of words". In so doing, they were not translating at all but rather merely "glossing"; "While seeking to clarify obscure and uncertain concepts they instead conceal and remove them"[239].

Writing to his potential readers, Antonio de Herrera also brought up the secular debate between literal translation and respect for the meaning of the text. Unlike Álamos, Herrera favored faithfulness to the meaning of the text rather than to the words. To strengthen his argument, he offered a contemporary example of a good translation: "To the extent possible, meaning should be explained as Strozzi did in his translation of Thucydides, making every effort to understand what the author wanted to say and putting it into the words of our mother tongue"[240]. The two translators thus had opposite perspectives, but in both we can see a serious and rigorous attitude regarding the work of a translator.

Translation was far more than an idle pursuit. Though the commonplace might sometimes reflect reality, translators were well aware of the impact and repercussions of their labors, which habitually were framed in terms of the common good or service to "the nation". The anonymous French translator hiding behind the initials P.D.B. put it in eloquent terms: he knew well that "those who appear in public run the extreme risk" of subjecting themselves to the judgment of the ignorant and of those who can "never say anything good about something done by others". Nonetheless, he said, "the desire (*affection*) I have to serve the public has led me to close my eyes to all this". Pedro Ponce de León went so far as to say that by not publishing his translation he had done "a greater service to my nation"[241].

In the case of Tacitus, public service was more than a commonplace in that placing the historian's works in the marketplace was by definition a controversial act. Translators understood not only what it meant to translate in general, but also what it meant to translate Tacitus in particular and what the possible impact of his texts might be. Translation could serve both to make Tacitus available for political use and to correct and modify the text for other purposes. Here I do not wish to judge the faithfulness of the vernacular translations with respect to the original but rather the way in which translators understood their own ability to act upon Tacitus's texts.

As with discussions over publication, translations of Tacitus shared many of the issues of other contemporary translations. William Adlington in his 1566 translation of Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* asserted he had not "absolutely translated every word, as it lieth in the prose, (for so the French and Spanish translators have not done)". In the opinion of Henry Burrowes Lathrop, this meant Adlington "modifies and omits freely for the sake of decency and he reduces Apuleius's high-flown language"[242]. Today such an approach to translation might be considered a distortion of the original, but it was widespread at the time. Translators could even present such work as

an improvement, in which poorly-written segments or mistakes were eliminated. Modifications of this sort were announced at the outset of the book in prologues such as that of Adlington or Pedro Mexía's translation of Isocrates, in which he said the Greek rhetorician "sometimes spoke as a Gentile, so I took care to translate him in a Christian manner even if it meant the words were twisted"[243].

Some of Tacitus's translators took this approach in dealing with the text. Claude Fauchet, for example, softened the passage of *Annals* XI, 2 in which Asiaticus is accused of corrupting his soldiers with cash and of committing *stupro* with them. Fauchet explained his translation by saying he had thought "*stupro* could be translated in a toned-down manner (*doucement*) without referring openly to such dirty things (*ordures*)". Fauchet also defended himself against those who said he had not understood Tacitus. It is not a question of not understanding the original meaning, he pointed out, but of having chosen to translate it a certain way[244]. Another option would have been censorship or removing certain passages, an option envisaged by Pedro Ponce de León, a critic of Tacitus in general. The passages in which Tacitus lied about the truth of Scripture were not especially troubling, he said, "because they could be avoided by not publishing them"[245].

Ponce de León, unlike others who reflected on translating Tacitus, was not naive. The problem with Tacitus was not two or three passages; he was dangerous inasmuch as he opposed the empire and the government of the monarchy. Tacitus's "love of liberty" in republican Rome prompted him to promote hate against the empire and against the concept of kingship[246]. Yet many translators thought it possible to modify or reshape the general interpretation of Tacitus's works. One of the most polemical examples can be found in Amelot de la Houssaye's criticism of Perrot d'Ablancourt's translation.

Ablancourt's translations were famous for the freedoms they took with the original. But in the case of Tacitus, more than style was at stake, which the translator made clear in his dedication to Richelieu when he referred to Tacitus's "force". "Tacitus is so grand that even if part of his grace and nearly all his force were removed, he would still be majestic and great", he wrote[247]. But in Amelot's estimation, Ablancourt had removed not only the thorns but also the roses, leaving Tacitus "stripped of all his judgments and maxims of state"[248]. The style or general approach with which a translator offered his audience a "new" text entailed direct intervention in the interpretation of the text. That, at least, was Amelot's opinion as he compared the version of Achille de Arlay de Chanvalon to that of Perrot d'Ablancourt. The

former "sacrificed words to meaning" while the latter sacrificed "meaning to words", which meant no less than that Chanvalon had translated "like a man of state" and Perrot as a "grammarian"[249].

Tacitus's translators used all the textual and publishing tools at their disposal as they participated in the text. Their broad abilities in this respect, along with the unstable meaning of "author" in the early modern era, meant many translations were perceived as works in their own right. Works and their authors thus could play an active role in the publishing market and in the world of Latin interpretation. In fact, as publications of translations of Tacitus grew, translators were forced to seek supplements and other added materials to make their products different and more attractive than all the rest. And the inevitable polemics about Tacitus obliged them to take a stand vis-à-vis the text even if they maintained an eloquent silence. Many of these attitudes regarding particular translations of Tacitus of course must be analyzed in the concrete context in which they were published. Patronage relations and the development of translators as intellectual and public figures were additional factors that help explain the ways in which certain translations were regarded.

Patronage and the intellectual career of translators

The most appropriate dedicatee of a translation of Tacitus was, in accordance with the consensus of the times, the king himself. Tacitus was a writer worthy of princes. Savile dedicated his translation to Elizabeth I. Sueyro dedicated his Spanish translation, first published in Antwerp, to archduke Albert of Austria, governor general of the Spanish Netherlands. France was the country boasting the greatest number of royal dedications: during the reign of Louis XIII not only the king but also his brother Gaston, duke of Orléans, and Louis's wife, Anne of Austria, received translations of Tacitus. So too did Louis's mother, Marie of Medici; when she was queen regent, she received François de Colomby's commentaries on Tacitus[250]. Jacob Soll had no doubt when he affirmed that Tacitus "became the official classical historian of France"[251]. Dedicating a translation of Tacitus to a monarch was not only an ideal option, it happened more than once. An important precedent – and the model for later dedications – was that of Justus Lipsius, who dedicated his Latin edition to Maximilian II.

These dedications continually repeated and reelaborated two principal tropes. The first was how suitable Tacitus was for the guiding hand of government, and the second was the translator's inability to offer his patron a better work, written by himself. The latter message generally was combined with expressions of desire humbly

to serve his patron. Achille de Harlay de Chanvalon, for example, asked what more appropriate gift for Anne of Austria there could be than "the works of the world's most famous *politique*". He went on skilfully to combine the two tropes mentioned above: I know, he said, that "Tacitus will not benefit from my desire to serve Your Majesty and that my efforts have greatly diminished the force of his spirit. But [the spirit] of Your Majesty, which lies above royalty itself, easily will penetrate the clouds with which I have blanketed this great light and will shine in a way it was impossible for me to do"[252].

References to the preservation or safeguarding of the Latin original's force and quality also are common, as are those to the patron's ability to make up for the translator's flaws and to metaphors of light and luminosity. In his dedication to Elizabeth, Savile said Tacitus's writings had been "transported from their natural light of the Latin by an unskilfull hand into a strange language". As for humility, he said his hands might not be "fit to set out a piece drawn with so curious a pencil". And in explaining why he had embarked upon the translation, he resorted, again with a trope, to his "good will in this scribbling age not to do nothing, and a disproportion in the powers of my mind, nothing of mine own invention being able to pass the censure of my own judgement, much less, I presumed, the judgement of others". Finally, he pointed to Tacitus's utility for the queen, most especially "to describe your most glorious reign"[253].

There are many more examples of this sort of presentation of translators and their translations. More interesting, however, is a look at the words of kings who did their own[254]. When royals translated during their apprenticeship, they had much in common with other youths who were learning Latin or vernacular languages. In 1594, the future Philip III translated Julius Caesar's *Commentaries on the Civil War* from French into Spanish and vice-versa as part of his language training[255]. His son and successor, Philip IV, translated Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*[256]. Queen Elizabeth's translations were an entirely different matter, however, an indication of the queen's great erudition and an important part of her public image. Savile even said the main reason he had decided to translate Tacitus was to "incite your Majesty by this as by a foible to communicate to the world, if not those admirable compositions of your own, yet at least those most rare and excellent translations of Histories (if I may call them translations, which have so infinitely exceeded the originals)"[257].

In the first of his several translations of Tacitus, Robert le Maistre, who dedicated his works both to Louis XIII and to the king's brother, presented history as an es-

sential part of a monarch's educational program. He had translated Tacitus, he said, because Henry IV asked him to discover "if Tacitus, so esteemed among writers, could be dressed as a Frenchman so our conversation with him could be more familiar"[258]. These and other examples show that European monarchs and governors had a more or less stable connection with translation, especially during their education. The only known case of a king who translated Tacitus is the duke of Anjou, future Philip V of France, who translated *Germania* and *Agricola*, published in 1706. His brother, the duke of Burgundy, at the time the presumptive heir to the throne, also translated Tacitus[259].

The second most important group of dedicatees comprised favorites (the duke of Essex, Cardinal Richelieu, the duke of Lerma), noblemen, and leading diplomatic and military figures. Here translators used similar strategies to present their work, generally minimizing the importance of their labors to fit better into the proper hierarchy established with patronage. Another frequent trope was to present the translation as a small act of service, the minimum the translator could do considering his great obligations to the patron to whom his work was dedicated. Perrot de Ablancourt wrote that in giving his work to Richelieu he was like a man who pays with another man's money, "because I do not find in my own house anything with which I could pay my debt"[260].

The Spaniard Antonio de Herrera announced the insignificance (*pequeñez*) of his work and his fear that it would not be a "fitting sign" of his devotion to Rodrigo Calderón, Lerma's right-hand man[261]. Translators also repeatedly mentioned their lack of skill: Richard Greenwey's dedication to Essex spoke of his "bold unskilfulnes" and his "unskilful pains"[262]. Giovanni Maria Manelli, in his dedication to Sidney, said he was publishing only because the work was under the protection of his patron, without which it would mean nothing. Manelli referred to his "little efforts" and took responsibility for "those imperfections that my translation may have added" to Tacitus[263].

All these presentations illustrate how translators had to situate their work in a complex mesh of power relations. Dedicatory conventions nevertheless concealed the ways in which they conceived of their labors. The dignity of their work, as we saw in the previous section, was greater than these dedications suggests. Yet in the case of dedications to kings and governors and noblemen, it is difficult to capture the reality beneath the commonplaces. The patronage in question might have been established years earlier, or perhaps the translator was trying to initiate a relationship

or consolidate one that had just begun. Nor is it easy to calibrate the connections linking the dedication and the work. Sometimes, dedicatees themselves commissioned the translation, as apparently was the case with Henry IV. Some might have read Tacitus in private with the aid of a scholar. In other cases, perhaps the dedicatee never even opened the translation bestowed upon him.

The physical presence of the dedication on the cover page, sometimes with a coat of arms, is a characteristic of book patronage. Sometimes the patron's portrait was included, as was the case of Anne of Austria, Louis XIII, and the duke of Orléans, who appeared on the translations dedicated to them. Fernando R. de la Flor has suggested in this respect that Lerma's coat of arms on the title page of books dedicated to him superimposed "the supreme value of blood and genealogy over the general discourse of values"[264]. Nevertheless, the Spanish translation that Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos dedicated to the duke of Lerma is a perfect example of the difficulty of measuring the effective meaning and reach of translation patronage (Fig. 6).

Álamos had good reasons for choosing Lerma: "there are many causes that oblige me to declare myself [the duke's] creature thanks to the freedom I received by his favor and hand", referring to the decision by the duke, Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, to free him. (Álamos had been an advocate of Antonio Pérez, Philip II's disgraced secretary, and was imprisoned after Pérez fled to France.) Álamos also implies that the dedication, in addition to paying a debt, might serve him well; now that the book was "authorized with the name of Your Excellency" it was likely to be "greeted by councillors and ministers"[265]. Lerma's patronage might even lead to commercial benefits. But it is unclear if the dedication meant Lerma officially approved of Tacitus.

Lerma obviously understood the dynamics of patronage. Since the start of Philip III's reign, as he consolidated his power and control, Lerma promoted a new style at court and, in the words of Harry Sieber, began practicing an "unusual and aggressive" brand of patronage[266]. One of Lerma's biographers, Antonio Feros, has studied Lerma's patronage in other fields such as paintings that at times established visual equality between him and the king[267]. Lerma's patronage activities were such that in a lavish reception on 31 March 1606, the University of Alcalá de Henares pronounced him "patron of letters"[268]. But his relationship to letters was a checkered one, and nearly nothing is known of his library. Like that of Philip III, it does not appear to have been large. Feros has noted that, compared to Lerma's painting collection, his collection of books was unimpressive[269]. His coat of arms appears on many frontispieces and dedications, perhaps indicating his approval of written

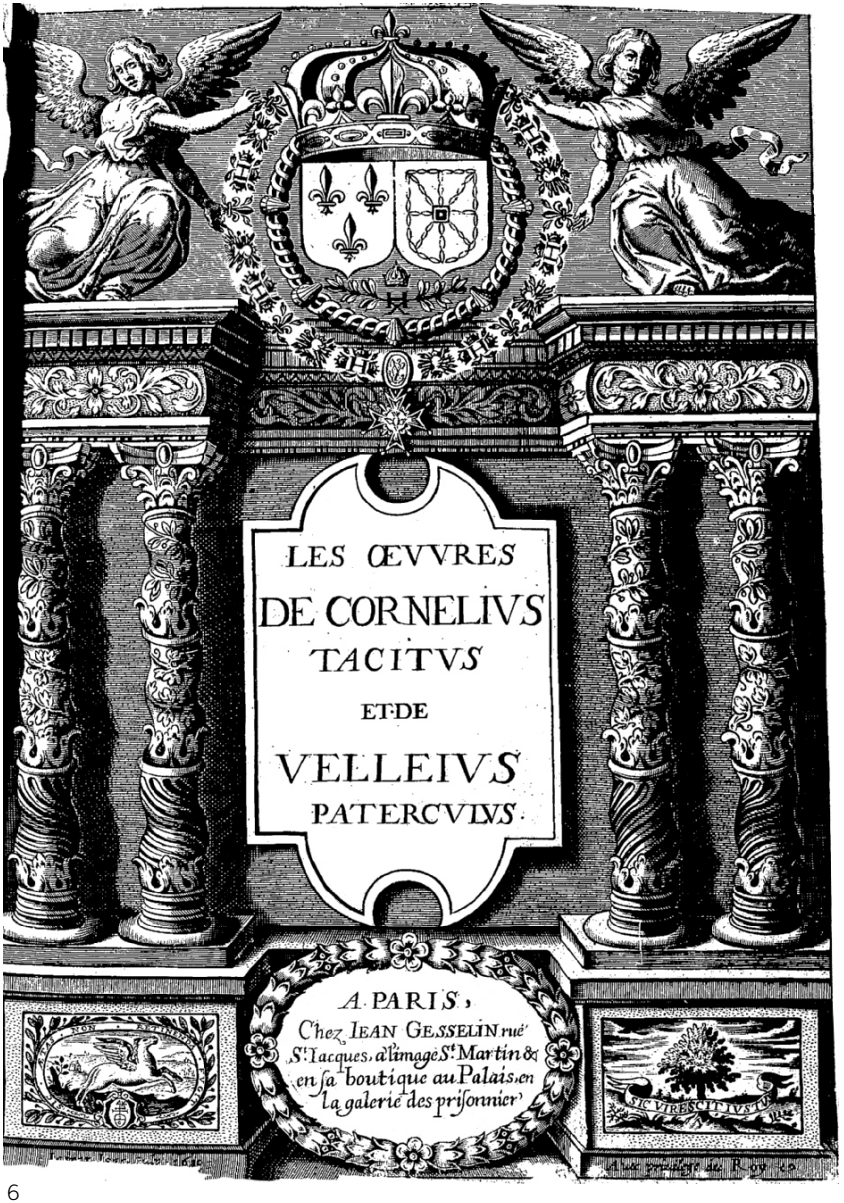


Fig. 6
Tacitus, *Les oeuvres de C. Cornelius Tacitus et Velleius Paterculus* (ed. J. Baudoin), Paris 1610, frontispiece. The image, dominated by king Henri IV's coat of arms, is a good example of the difficulties of interpreting patronage, since this work was not dedicated to him.

works but more probably reflecting the actions of clever publishers interested in promoting their products. The Madrid printer Luis Sánchez on at least three occasions used the same woodcut with Lerma's arms, and for Álamos de Barrientos's *Tácito español* he ordered a copperplate specifically for that edition[270]. The copy sent to Lerma ended up at the library of the Santo Domingo convent in the town of Lerma, in the province of Burgos[271].

The case of Henry Savile and the second Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, marks a contrast to Lerma and Álamos. Whether or not Essex wrote the preface to Savile's translation, signed A. B., the two men clearly were close[272]. Paul Hammer has used the expression "employment of scholars" to describe their sort of patronage. Essex, he wrote, shared with many men of his generation "a belief that scholarly learning had direct practical value"[273]. A great reader of the classics, he also believed in the practical value of history and that "rules and patterns of *pollecy* are as well learned out of Greek and Roman stories as out of states which are at this day"[274]. He even went so far as to write "a paper booke" of his own "notations of Cornelius Tacitus"[275].

The earl's public image prospered as a result of his employment of scholars. He did not love knowledge for knowledge's sake but rather sought to construct a reputation as a well-informed man of a serious and temperate nature. As Hammer has written, Essex publicly mingled with knowledgeable men and established himself as their patron, and that association "represented an important public statement". By choosing these men, Essex "not only suggested that he himself was able to make use of such high-powered servants, but also that his service actually required them". Essex furthermore received research advice in the form of papers on specific subjects and oral instruction, like tutorials, during which he benefited from the "exposition of one or more texts in the light of some specific problem" [276]. It is likely that Henry Savile studied Tacitus in this way with Essex. Nevertheless, he ended up dedicating his translation not to the earl but to the queen.

Essex's interests and questions can be gleaned from Savile's translation, especially from his notes and supplementary texts. It is tempting, though a bit risky, to imagine that Savile's notes might correspond to a tutorial directed at Essex. In his intelligent study of *The ende of Nero and the beginning of Galba*, David Womersley has pointed to linkages between Savile's supplement and Essex's political activities in the early 1590s. At the time, the earl was concerned with military offices: "Essex sought not only aggrandizement through military office ... He sought to aggrandize the military office itself: to increase its political gravity through the virtuosity of his

own military self-fashioning"[277]. The treatise, *A View of Certaine Militar Matters, For the Better Understanding of Ancient Roman Histories*, which Savile added to his translation of Tacitus, fits nicely with Essex's political preoccupations, concretely with his thoughts on war and his active defense of Protestantism outside England's borders[278]. In Paul Hammer's view, "Savile's notes on Roman military practices ... may have assisted the Earl's endeavours to reform England's fighting forces"[279].

Álamos's dedication is full of praise and explanations of how the duke might best take advantage of his translation of Tacitus, but we do not know if Lerma ever read it. In contrast, Savile worked very closely with Essex and offered him concrete suggestions for resolving England's political problems, but he never mentioned Essex when he published his translation of Tacitus. The disparity between these two examples shows how careful one must be in analyzing patronage relations in connection with translations of Tacitus. The idealized language of dedications might make one think the translations were designed specifically for the noblemen, captains, and ambassadors to whom they were dedicated, but we have little idea if these translations were ever actually used or read.

Translators not only entered into relationships with patrons, they also had to situate themselves in the contemporary literary or intellectual setting. Publication of their translations meant their works joined all other available works at that moment, a "market" not characterized by the hierarchical relations underpinning patronage and in which translators therefore could defend themselves on equal footing. Jessica Winston has written that translators were well aware of the environment surrounding them, and though their works "may well have been composed in seclusion, they nevertheless emerged out of and responded to a current literary scene". When she looked at translations of Seneca in Renaissance England, she found that Jasper Heywood's preface to *Thyestes* praised no fewer than eight contemporary writers. The many translations of Tacitus, as of Seneca and others, are the product of a specific historical environment. Translators presented their works in accordance with the place they believed (or hoped) they occupied in the prevailing immediate intellectual world. In Winston's words, "translations were written and read as contributions to a contemporary literary community"[280].

Tacitus's translators were familiar with the European setting and could situate their work in it, but they also placed the impact of their work in a much more concrete and ambitious context. This sense of literary community can be seen, for example, in the case of Spanish translations of Tacitus. From 1613 to 1615 there were four edi-

tions of Tacitus's works in Spanish: Sueyro's in Antwerp (1613), Álamos's in Madrid (1614), a re-edition of Sueyro's (1614), and Herrera's in 1615. Álamos, in his letter to readers, said he was familiar with Sueyro's work, and he provided a long commentary on coexistence. Álamos, who wrote his translation in the mid-1590s, did not seem to mind sharing the literary panorama with Sueyro. The appearance of both works would help boost the reputation of Tacitus, Álamos said, as people noticed that several authors were working on him and were anxious to "communicate their work to the nation". A comparison between the versions would "praise both", he argued, for it would show that neither had been in vain and that "at least two" studies were necessary for understanding Tacitus. With this approach, he intelligently illustrated the relevance of translation, pointed to the potential demand for these works, and consolidated his *ethos* as an expert translator by emphasising the need not only to translate Tacitus but to study him. Finally, he praised the erudition of Sueyro, whom he said he esteemed and venerated, and his praise echoed in part on himself[281].

Antonio de Herrera also explicitly mentioned translations that preceded his. He had been "the last to undertake this chore", he said, adding that he had translated just "a little part" of the Latin historian's works. Like Álamos, Herrera tried to compensate for the inauspicious context by presenting his translation in the best possible way. His partial translation, he said, was not the last because of lack of interest but rather "because those done by others are very good, and because what I have translated is so important it deserves to be seen and considered carefully"[282]. Thus he praised his predecessors while at the same time praising the care and precision of his own work. Francisco Sanmartí Boncompte has pointed out that Carlos Coloma's translation, published in a different context in 1629, shows signs of having been composed with Herrera's and Álamos de Barrientos's works in mind[283]. Coloma's work, however, is markedly different, not only because he could consult all prior versions but because he occupied a different intellectual space. Perhaps for that reason, he criticized Álamos in marginal notes for not better translating the Latin term *castris prefecto*[284].

The fact that three translations appeared in barely three years and coexisted harmoniously is perhaps exceptional. That was, at least, Ithier Hobier's opinion; Sueyro and Álamos wrote "at the same time [and] praised each other, a rare virtue amongst ourselves", he wrote[285]. Indeed, it is not hard to find translators of Tacitus who criticized each other's work, at times quite pointedly. Adriano Politi's translation, as I noted earlier, had a clearly polemical purpose and was part of a lively debate on the precedence and superiority of the various Italian dialects; Politi's work clearly opposed the "Florentine" Tacitus of Bernardo Davanzati. In England, Ben Jonson

criticized the work of Richard Greenwey, which he considered "ignorantly done", but he went out of his way to praise Savile[286]. "The soul of Tacitus", Jonson wrote, "in thee, most weighty Savile, lived to us"[287].

Another fierce debate was that between Perrot d'Ablancourt and Amelot de la Houssaye, which developed in various phases. The first was marked by the publication by Amelot in 1686 of *La morale de Tacite, De la flatterie*, which not only criticized Perrot in the preliminary study titled *Critique de divers auteurs modernes qui ont traduit ou commenté les oeuvres de Tacite* but directly compared the two men's translations of Tacitus. The next shot was fired by Frémont d'Ablancourt (Nicolas's nephew), who that same year published *Perrot d'Ablancourt vengé, ou, Amelot de Houssaye convaincu de ne pas parler François, & d'expliquer mal le Latin*. Finally, Amelot replied in 1690 with a longer, revised French translation of the first six books of the *Annals*[288].

The case of Amelot reflects the growing importance of literary criticism and of translators' increasingly sharp self-consciousness. These confrontations (as well as more peaceful relations) were relatively common among Tacitus's translators, and their defenses formed part of the construction of meaning as Tacitus was received in the early modern age. It should not surprise us, therefore, that translators and their contemporaries understood translation to have intellectual merit. But who were these translators? And what part of their intellectual and professional standing was owed to their translations? Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia recently differentiated between amateur translators who "engaged in this activity only once or twice in their lives" and a small group of professional translators "in the general sense of devoting a considerable amount of their life to this task, often for money". But, Burke and Hsia point out, "it is more exact to call these people 'semi-professional', since it was common at this time to combine the career of translator with teaching languages, interpreting, acting as a secretary, compiling dictionaries or with writing for money"[289]. It might also be necessary to rethink the category of amateur translator.

Álamos de Barrientos, for example, published just one translation, though it had an important role in his own intellectual career and as a royal official. That, at least, was what he thought. It will be remembered that his work was just a translation of Tacitus accompanied by aphorisms largely plagiarized from Anibale Scoto. Yet Álamos considered himself a Spanish pioneer in the science of government. With his *Tácito español*, he wrote, "I have laid the principles in our nation of this science"[290]. Before publishing his partial translation of the *Annals* in 1615, Antonio de Herrera

had published four other translations, the dedicatees of which trace Herrera's development and show how translation could be yet another arrow in one's professional quiver. A memorandum regarding his candidacy to be chronicler of the Indies in 1595 reveals that his translating work had helped him establish or strengthen relationships with important court figures and with Philip II himself. Translation was one of the merits enumerated in his request to be appointed chronicler[291].

In Emanuel Sueyro's dedication to Archduke Albert, he said his translation of Tacitus had been composed in his "early years". In his later years, he said, he hoped to serve the dedicatee, of whom he declared himself a "humble vassal"[292]. In fact Sueyro was suggesting that he wished to continue his father's profession, working both as an informer to the monarchy and in the commercial realm (Emanuel Sueyro acted as a go-between for Antwerp merchants and their contacts in the Iberian Peninsula)[293]. A third aspect of his career was translation and writing his own works, which he did both when he accompanied his father and, starting in 1620 or 1621, when he emerged as a key player in Spanish espionage in Holland[294]. In what is perhaps his most important work, *Anales de Flandes*, published in 1624, Sueyro said he had devoted the past twenty years to the service of the monarchy, "spending few hours in which I was not studying or working on behalf of Your Majesty"[295]. For him, working and studying were equal demonstrations of service to the king.

Taken together, these three Spanish translators present a hybrid image, mixing occupations more or less connected to government matters with intellectual activities such as translation. Many other translators of Tacitus offer a similar profile. Robert le Maistre, for example, said he had alternated his translation of Tacitus with other obligations such as "adviser, the king's daily (*ordinaire*) physician, and first physician for the princes of France"[296]. According to early modern translators, Tacitus was an important adviser to princes and governors, so it is curious, and perhaps not a coincidence, that so many of his translators also were (or aspired to be) advisers to the great and powerful. Tacitus's translators implicitly presented themselves as expert advisers, as mediators between their patrons and the important knowledge contained in the Latin writer's works, which only awaited the appropriate interpreter. Translation thus was a means for these men to show their worth as interpreters and their ability to advise those involved in public matters. Translation, in short, could be a key strategic component of their careers.

Rebecca Boone has called for a re-evaluation of the complex genre of history translations in early modern Europe. In considering how translators and readers under-

stood these works, Boone says, we can see that translations were not only evidence of humanist activity but "advice to acquire and exercise power"[297]. In the next chapter I examine a particular aspect of Tacitus's translations which clearly indicates their importance as pieces of advice for the present. I show how translators situated their own present in relation to the past of Tacitus's texts. In translating the history of the Roman Empire, they were negotiating between two eras which, as we shall see, could be very close to one another or very far apart. The degree to which Tacitus was used politically often would be decided by this proximity or distance.

4. Translations and Time

In 1529, William IV of Bavaria commissioned a painting by Albrecht Altdorfer commemorating Alexander's victory over the Persians at the battle of Issus. This work, a pictorial translation of the historical narrative of Quintus Curtius Rufus, is noteworthy because the combatants in the painting had a purely contemporary look. Some were Swiss soldiers and others were Ottoman Turks, who had besieged Vienna that same year. Reinhart Koselleck, in analyzing the painting, said that though the events had taken place nearly two thousand years earlier, Altdorfer's impression of the battle "atemporally" linked the antiquity represented on the canvas and the painter's present. The two moments thus were "contained in a common historical perspective". Koselleck's analysis went on to point out that after Altdorfer's death and the subsequent transformations undergone during the 16th century, there was a gradual "temporalization of history". This differentiation between past and present explains how, three hundred years later, Friedrich Schlegel looked at the painting and was able to distinguish not only between antiquity and Altdorfer's present but also between Altdorfer's painting and the artist's own present, each in its own box[298].

In ways similar to Altdorfer, Tacitus's translators showed in their work how they perceived the temporal relationship between the world Tacitus described and their own (Fig. 7). A careful analysis of temporal manipulations in vernacular translations, sometimes difficult to appreciate, indicates a fluid and fluctuating relationship between the present of the 16th and 17th centuries and the Roman past narrated by Tacitus. In some translated versions one senses the purely contemporary vision that Koselleck described in Altdorfer's painting. But one also observes in the translations a distinct and critical vision of the text. At times, translators appear to live in Tacitus's present, but other times they marked unbridgeable separations between the two eras. These differences do not correspond exactly with different "manners" of translating or with conscious choices by translators. One cannot speak in general of, on the one hand, modernizing and adaptive translations and, on the other, conservative or classical ones, because what one actually sees in the 16th- and 17th-century vernacular translations of Tacitus is a constant, changing movement, now closer, now more distant, between the time of the text and the time of the translation.

For today's readers, the past narrated by Tacitus is totally strange and distant, but during the 16th and 17th centuries the relationship was much more complicated. John Pocock, indeed, found a paradox in humanists' "return to the ancient world".

Fig. 7
Woodcut in a copy of Tacitus, *Der Roemischen Keyser Historien: von dem abgang des Augusti an biß auff Titum und Vespasianum*, Mainz 1535. Roman soldiers and horses are depicted in contemporary fashion, providing a clear example of the chronological assimilation between ancient and modern eras.

The paradox for Pocock was that humanists, "going far beyond their original purpose, relegated Greco-Roman wisdom inescapably to the past, and robbed it, in the end, of all claim to be applied immediately and directly to modern life". Thus copies and imitations were impossible, and the problematic of the past as its own, discrete field of study was born. Nonetheless, this movement was "extremely slow [and] its full effects were not felt before the early 18th century". Furthermore, its ultimate consequences were not fully perceived; rather, it was "often helped on its way by scholars unaware of the full import of what they were doing, who continued to believe that the past should be studied for the sake of moral instruction, as a storehouse of examples to be imitated or avoided"[299].

Translations of Tacitus in the 16th and 17th centuries thus constitute a testimony of the changing relationship between the time of antiquity and modern time. They are heirs of both currents of the humanist program which, as Anthony Grafton has written, proposed to understand antiquity (and other distant cultures) on its own terms (referring to uses, customs, and meanings) while at the same time using the classics in the present[300]. Grafton has shown that both options were present when humanist philology first commenced, and they remained alive until the mid-17th century. In his analysis of the relationship between humanist readers and ancient texts, he uncovered two groups of humanists: one "seeks to make the ancient world live again, assuming its undimmed relevance and unproblematic accessibility" and the other "seeks to put the ancients back into their own time, admitting that reconstruction of the past is difficult and that success may reveal the irrelevance of ancient experience and precept to modern problems"[301]. The two groups coexisted happily most of the time, though occasionally there were bitter polemics concerning interpretation of the past and contemporary uses of classic texts. According to Grafton, it is likely that all humanists, as well as their heirs, had an ambiguous relationship to antiquity characterized by their ability to simultaneously approach and maintain their distance from the texts and even to bridge the gap between the two positions[302].

My objective is to look at how early modern translators situated the text in time. At first glance, it is not easy to capture how a translator, consciously or unconsciously, moves the text closer or farther away from his past. But a careful reader will quickly discover small indications and peculiarities. Frequent signs of contact with the present include translations of quantities of money and place names, and it was difficult to translate words for the posts, rites, and customs of the Roman Empire. In these cases and more, translators had to choose between direct translation, the best possible equivalent, and explanation. Their explanations look similar to translator's

notes that appear in books today, but theirs were based on a different understanding of how to read history, on a global reading of the classical corpus, and on the search for complete explanations regarding the past. The clearest points of difference were Tacitus's discussions of religious matters, which directly or indirectly affected the values and beliefs of early modern European Christianity.

Oftentimes, the marginal notes and other "added" elements offer hints for how the translator situated himself chronologically, but clues also lie in the text itself. Having identified the most common instances in which we can clearly see comparisons or differentiations with the present, I have conducted a transversal reading of the translations under analysis, seeking out similarities and differences in how they positioned themselves vis-à-vis the text. This has resulted in the identification of certain hot questions. Some discussions in vernacular translations, naturally, were inherited from Latin editions or from other works that commented on the characteristics and uses of Tacitus's texts. This reminds us of the endless chain of receptions experienced by Latin works and the connections between translations and other contemporary works, both in Latin and the vernacular.

Proximity

Emanuel Sueyro, whose translation generally is quite conservative with original terms, translated Augustus's instructions in his will in the following manner: "To the people and plebeians I leave 1,087,500 escudos, and twenty-five to each soldier of the Praetorian Corps and seven and a half *escudos* to the soldiers of the Legionary Corps of Roman citizens"[303]. Álamos, however, who usually brought his translation closer to the present, chose to leave the Roman coins in the original: "To the people and plebeians I leave forty-three and a half million sesterces; to the soldiers of the guard, one thousand sesterces each; and to the legions of Roman citizens, three hundred sesterces to each person". The equivalent quantities in contemporary Castilian coins – Sueyro used silver or gold coinage as his reference – nonetheless appear in the margin notes as "*435 quentos de maravedis*", "*10mil maravedis*" and "*3mil maravedis*", respectively[304].

As can be seen in these Spanish examples, translations could suggest the Latin term, the present-day equivalent, or both, using typographical and editorial means to make them act as markers of historical interpretation. In any case, the fact that they could translate coins, whether in the text or in the margin notes, shows that ancient times for them were not, as they are for us, entirely separate from the present. During the

16th and 17th centuries, differences between the two eras were perceived, but they did not cancel one another out. Between Tacitus's text and our present, on the other hand, there lies a distance we cannot cross, and today it would be impossible to admit such rewritings of the Roman past. It would be unacceptable, for example, to write in a translation, "In his will, Augustus left the Roman people 1,087,500 euros", or any equivalent amount, being that the calculation itself makes no sense. The search for an equivalent made sense only because during the early modern period there was still a fluid relationship between the time of the narration and the present.

Scholars of translation often neglect these sorts of details. They are not questions of style, precision, or literary value, but they offer us precious information about the culture of those who translated Tacitus. It is not easy to understand the importance of the names given to coins, but given that a large number of vernacular translations suggest equivalent "vernacular" coins, it might be worth thinking about this in greater depth. Many humanists, including Guillaume Budé and Antonio Agustín, studied the history of Roman numismatics, and translations of Tacitus show that that those concerns were still alive. Robert le Maistre included a short *Traitté des monnoyes romaines* [Treatise on Roman coins] in several editions of his translation. Claude Fauchet, in the notes to his French translation, said he would have preferred to leave the "ancient words" (*mots anciens*) in place given that "wise men do not agree among themselves regarding the value of ancient coins with respect to our own"[305]. Henry Savile also participated actively in the controversy. His *Explication of a Place in Polybius With a Defence of the Common Copie Against the Opinion of Certaine Great Learned Men*, included at the end of his translation, is not only a defense of a certain way of amending manuscripts, but also an important criticism of the monetary equivalences proposed by Budé in his *De asse et partibus eius libri quinque* (1514) and by François Hotman in *De re nummaria* (1585).

Translators who tried to find equivalents for Roman coins shared the interest of earlier humanists and of early modern culture in these questions. In essence, these concerns also reflected the ways in which history was read in the 16th and 17th centuries. One of the features of this reading practice was an attempt to realize a global comprehension of the text and of all the cultural features therein, from coins to civil institutions to religion. As with coins, descriptions of the various Roman magistrates' jobs was also a specific object of study for humanists. The contemporary importance of this question explains Álamos's justifications, which I analyze below, as well as glossaries such as the one Politi added to his translation. Notes and commentaries further addressed these matters. The fact that Canini in his *Confronti*

included multiple comparisons of translations for military and civilian posts makes clear that this was a debate that readers paid close attention to.

Tacitus's translators frequently discuss the advantages and disadvantages of incorporating Latinisms into vernacular languages, but terms referring to the jobs and positions of Roman magistrates are especially tricky. Álamos de Barrientos in general chose words that were "reduced to their vulgar form and term, more fitting and closer in meaning to what one wants to say". But regarding jobs (*oficios*), he preferred to retain Latin names "as we do not have in our time any that exactly and in all ways correspond to ancient times". Nevertheless, he also recognized that sometimes he did use modern terms for the names of ancient jobs. He defended himself against hypothetical criticism by telling readers he was perfectly aware of the differences between them. His usage did not mean that he "had not understood that moderns were incapable of the ministry and exercise that Tacitus attributed to those he names" [306].

Nicolás Perrot d'Ablancourt, a controversial and innovative translator, said of this debate that he had retained names such as *Cohors* [corps] and *Centurio* because "the ancient militia is unrelated to ours". Ablancourt however did include a glossary briefly describing the terms he had not translated; this also allowed him to omit writing equivalent terms in the margins, which apparently he did not like to do. In his view, there were many drawbacks to using monetary equivalents because an exact translation could weaken the text's rhetorical force. If Arminius promised one hundred sesterces a day to those who surrendered to him, Perrot d'Ablancourt wrote, translating the exact figure of "seven livres and ten sols" would make the sentence "ridiculous"[307]. Therefore, like Álamos and the English translator Richard Greenwey, he simply indicated equivalencies in the margins.

Despite all these precautions, we find many examples of assimilation with the present, even in the translation of words for offices. The linkage with the classical past once again is in the details, especially in passages where translators forgot their general norms or simply could not avoid making a connection between the text and the present. Like the Greeks dressed up as Swiss mercenary soldiers in Altdorfer's painting, a *macero* appears in Álamos de Barrientos's translation and a *sergeant* in that of Richard Greenwey. These terms, dressed up in 17th-century uniforms, appear as readers learn that Tiberius did not want a *lictor* to be given to Livia as an honor after the death of Augustus (*Ann.* I, 14). The definition of *macero* in Sebastián de Covarrubias's dictionary, contemporary with Álamos's translation, shows how fitting the comparison in Spanish is; a mace (*maza*) is "the insignia carried by

maceros before kings or governors"[308]. Other translations into Spanish and other languages nevertheless maintained the temporal distance and did not seek contemporary equivalents for the Latin term "*lictor*". Emanuel Sueyro even added an explanation: "Those who accompanied magistrates. As their insignia they carried a bunch of staffs with a *segur* or axe"[309].

At times, linkage or approximation to the present occurs through even smaller details than those we have mentioned. They deserve not even a marginal note or comment, and, again, they have not been studied by early modern scholars. They are, simply, translations, little scraps and glimmers throughout the text. One such moment comes in the passage in which Tacitus says senators could not attend the Augustan games in chariots[310]. The passage leaps directly into the present in the Spanish translation by Carlos Coloma, who turns *carros* [chariots] into *coches* [carriages][311]. Álamos makes explicit in a marginal note his understanding of the relationship between the text and the present; the vehicle was "similar to modern *coches*"[312]. Access to and use of carriages was the subject of fierce legislative debate during the reigns of Philip II, III, and IV[313], and evidently both translators in their reading of the Latin text and their translations were attempting to compare carriage policy in the 17th century to the prohibition recorded by Cornelius Tacitus.

Dialogue between time periods is constant in all translations, including those that most consistently used Latin terminology. Even in the case of authors such as Sueyro, a connection of some sort is occasionally established between the text and the translator's present. Two examples are the use of the contemporary Spanish term *real* to refer to the outworks of the military encampment (*vallum*), and *alférez del Aguila* to refer to *aquilifer*[314]. Other translators make comparable adaptations. Richard Greenwey made Germanicus into a "Lord general" and turned legates into "lieutenants"[315]. Similar cases can be found in the works of Herrera and Álamos, who used the contemporary Spanish term *billete* [letter] to refer to secret correspondence between Tacitus's characters[316]. The same is true for *curia*. Sueyro wrote in a marginal note that this referred to "the place where senators met", but Herrera and Álamos translated it as *consejo* (council), its contemporary equivalent[317]. Richard Greenwey took the middle ground, paraphrasing the Latin term as "the place of public assemblies"[318].

There are times when communication between Tacitus's descriptions and the translator's present even take on a personal cast. Carlos Coloma, who was especially sensitive to military terminology, seemed to be speaking from personal experience when he clarified the description of the Dutch dikes with a note reading, "Dikes to-

day are raised paths, so narrow that one must place one foot in front of the other as one walks over the boggy ground"[319]. One can imagine Coloma making that walk. Other times the translators' presence is even more noticeable. Antonio de Herrera, for example, added a few words of explanation that make manifest the appearance of the present in his translation of the ancient classic: "[Plancus], clasping the standards and the eagle, lay as if in sanctuary, *como los que se meten en sagrado*"[320]. Herrera's added words, which refer to those who found refuge from their persecutors by entering a church, translate the past custom into present-day cultural terms.

Another selection of how translators read Tacitus in the present tense can be found in their toponymy. In general terms, both in the translations as such and in marginal notes, the events narrated by Tacitus take place on equivalent contemporary "maps". Richard Greenwey simply adapted the Latin term *Panonia* into English: Pannony. Antonio de Herrera translated it as Hungary (*Hungría*) and Carlos Coloma added a note saying Tacitus's Panonia was "today's Austria and Hungary"[321]. Sometimes one had a variety of names to choose from: Antonio de Herrera, for example, wrote, "Termeste was a large city in Old Castile. Today it is a small town near the Erezma River, and others say it is in Soria"[322]. It may seem natural to translate place names in the text with their contemporary equivalents, but doing so moves the text much closer to the present, in this case the 16th or 17th centuries, than would be the case today.

What made Tacitus's texts so acclaimed in the early modern era probably was their alleged ability to explain the world, to understand the behavior of rulers and the political events of their time. Editors of the Latin original had been promoting this image since the 15th century, and Lipsius definitively crystallized it when he alluded in his dedication to the Emperor Maximilian II to *similitudo temporum* (similarity between eras). That motif was used repeatedly by commentators and translators, as it offered, above all, enormous rhetorical possibilities (Fig. 8, 9).

One of the most interesting direct comparisons between eras appears in the dedication by A. B. to Savile's translation; it encourages readers, "if you do abhor their tyrannies, love and reverence your own wise, just, and excellent Prince. If you do detest their Anarchy, acknowledge our own happy government, and thank god for her, under whom England enjoys as many benefits, as ever Rome did suffer miseries under the greatest Tyrant"[323]. Here the motif is reversed – one is remarking not on temporal similarity but on difference – which opens up a wide field of interpretive possibilities in both senses. A more typical comparison can be found in the commentated partial translation that François de Colomby dedicated to Maria de

Fig. 8
B. Álamos de Barrientos, *Tácito español ilustrado con aforismos*, Madrid 1614, detail of frontispiece. Tacitus is depicted as an early modern scholar wearing a long black gown and hat.

Medicis, queen regent. Typical of the outpouring of praise in such dedications, Colomby averred that "France has never been so happy". He went so far as to postulate an essential parallel between Tacitus's text and the present when he wrote, "one can say of your regency what was said at the time of Augustus's reign: peace is preserved with justice, friendship with one's enemies is maintained with modesty"[324].

These are general comparisons, and they rhetorically praise the virtues of the prince to whom they are dedicated. Nevertheless, vernacular translations of Tacitus offer concrete examples of the ways in which history was used to understand the present.

Fig. 9
Tacitus, *Tacite avec des notes politiques et historiques par Amelot de la Houssaie* (trans. A.-N. Amelot de la Houssaye), The Hague 1692, detail of frontispiece. Tacitus depicted as an early modern scholar writing a book in a room furnished with a contemporary table and bookshelves. It also features references to Roman history (left) and to the relationship between Tacitus's texts and princely rule (right).

The details and the variety of situations compared indicate, at the same time, the systematic nature of this sort of applied, active reading. Though Michel de Montaigne's manner of reading Tacitus was not exactly typical, it can serve as an illustration. The passage in question comes from *Agricola* XIV, which Montaigne used in his essay, "De la grandeur romaine" in *Essaies* II, 24. In his text, Montaigne remarks on the Romans' practice of retaining conquered monarchs on their own thrones, which he had read about with surprise in Tacitus. After citing the Latin author, Montaigne establishes a direct parallel with the current situation of the king of Hungary, who was under the dominium of the Turkish sultan[325]. Parallels like these between past and present do not appear only in sophisticated readings or in readings by a genius such as Montaigne. They are, rather, typical of the method with which early modern readers read ancient history, a method reflected in all its seriousness and depth in vernacular translations.

Antonio de Herrera's Spanish translation is one of the best examples of the precision with which the past and the present were brought into line. The way in which he translates shows, in addition, that a direct comparison between the two eras could emerge at any point in his reading, practically with any passage. When Percennius bitterly complains about soldiers' living conditions and says, "ten asses a day was the assessment of body and soul", Herrera's marginal notation freely brings us back to the present: "Guards were paid then as soldiers are today"[326]. The expression "then as ... today" makes the comparison explicit, and it reappears when Vibulenus complains to Blaesus about his deceased alleged brother. Vibulenus's words caused consternation in the military camp and also caused Herrera to note in the margin, "soldiers mutiny like they do today"[327].

In extreme instances, Tacitus's narrative is almost regarded as a complete equivalent to the present, and space, protagonists, and consequences seem to coincide as if the centuries in-between did not exist. The point at which this can be seen most clearly in Herrera's translation comes when Germanicus's extremely complicated military predicament is outlined: "to add to the alarm, the enemy was cognizant of the disaffection in the Roman ranks, and invasion was certain if the Rhine bank was abandoned. Yet to arm the auxiliaries native and foreign against the seceding legions was nothing less than an act of civil war"[328]. Unlike so many other commentators of his era, Herrera discovered no general rule of government here. Instead, he wrote in the margin, "Examples of this can be seen in our times"[329].

Two previous marginal notations already indicated Herrera was trying to read the German military campaigns in contemporary terms. In this case, the device for bringing the classical text and the current Spanish monarchy together was topo-

nyms. Before making the explicit comparison, mentioned above, with "in our times", Herrera had indicated that the *Sequani*, an ancient people that in fact did not exist and whose name originated in a bastardized fragment of the text, resided in Burgundy. He also pointed out, significantly, that "*Belgica* is the Low Countries"[330]. This manner of translating place names was common in many vernacular versions, as I have said, but here we can see how potentially meaningful the practice could be, as the adapted toponyms moved the events in the text to contemporary settings, thus facilitating comparison between the textual past and the present.

Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas was a royal chronicler, so he must have been on the lookout for current events to write about[331]. He surely did not miss the news of the 1605 military campaign in which Ambrosio Spinola's army marched along the Rhine to enter Cologne. The objective of this incursion into imperial lands was to build a bridge over the Rhine so the monarchy's army could wage a campaign against Overijssel (the Netherlands) and Lingen (Germany); later, two other bridges with an eye to future campaigns were to be built[332]. The following year, battles continued on the north bank of the Rhine between the Spanish army and the army of Maurice of Nassau, particularly for control over Groenlo, which was besieged by Spinola and conquered in September 1606[333]. In January and October of that year, however, there were mutinies in the Spanish army after soldiers were not paid[334]. The revolts put an end to the Spanish advance, especially after the latter mutiny resulted in their losing Groenlo and having to capture it a second time[335].

As Herrera worked on his translations, his deep knowledge of current events was neatly and smoothly overlain onto his narration of the past. This precise superimposition gives meaning to the exemplary use of history; it is not a matter of generically comparing old and new mutinies, or soldiers' pay in the first century and the 17th century, but rather of establishing a direct parallel between the events of the text and the reality of the translator. This vision was projected to Herrera's potential readers through his use of marginal notation. As William Slights has said of these textual notes, "Functioning at their most creative level, [they] open doorways specifically, insistently for the purpose of crossing the text-context threshold"[336].

History's exemplary nature, so often pointed to in early modern treatises, can be fully grasped only if one understands the ways in which people read in those times. For someone trained in active and attentive reading, there was nothing odd about making notes on a passage containing an interesting metaphor, a discursive turn, or information about an ancient custom. Nor was it difficult to note those passages

with which to establish a direct comparison with the present. The marginal notes in Herrera's translation are a sort of fossilized reading, and a reader used to making his own marginal notes would identify them as basic tools with which to confront a text. Thus the textual strategy I am discussing here was not exclusive to Herrera; it was the basis of reading and manuscript notation in the early modern era, and from there it was an easy step to published marginalia in which writers could show "contemporary events through textual analogy" and "enliven the text by showing its relevance to the daily life of contemporary readers"[337].

Herrera compared Tacitus's text not only to the European present of 1606-1607 but also to mid-16th-century America. Sabine MacCormack has pointed out that in his *Historia general*, Herrera "produced a double narrative: an account of events in the Americas arranged, in the manner of Tacitus, as annals, and a running commentary on this account consisting of quotations from the works of Tacitus and Tacitus's Italian commentator, Annibale Scoto"[338]. When he described Gonzalo Pizarro's refuge in Cuzco, a remote and wealthy city from which he opposed Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela, Herrera turned to Tacitus: the Roman legions of the Rhine had put down the Treveri revolt, but now their mission was complicated by distance and by the wealth of the rebel city. He wrote, "Among the Aedui trouble came in a more serious form, since the city was wealthier (than the city of the Treveri), and military might to suppress (the revolt) was far away"[339]. As MacCormack concludes, there is little doubt that "Herrera envisioned the Peruvian coast and Lima as analogous to the Rhine with the Roman legions, and with nearby Trier (the city of the Treveri), while Cuzco was the equivalent of the rebellious city of the Aedui"[340].

The French translator Claude Fauchet also situated Tacitus's texts in his present-day reality. The ease with which the situations and scenarios in Tacitus could be brought into the present can be seen, in his case, in his notes to the translation. Fauchet translated *forum* in three ways: "*lieu du plaidoyer*" (courts of law), "*marché publique*" (public market), and "*For*" (when he does not know which meaning of the Latin term *forum* is meant). He explains that "the court of law was in front of the public square where groceries and common goods were sold. In the same manner, we see the *Chatelets* of Paris and Orléans almost near the market"[341]. As we know Fauchet was a high magistrate in Paris, we can understand how he interpreted the text as he did, with references to well-known and familiar spaces.

At the start of the *Histories*, Henry Savile translated *divus Nerva* as "prince Nerva of sacred memory". *Divus* refers to one of those rites and customs which, in accordance

with the prevailing theory, needed to be explained over the course of the reading. Savile, as would be expected, explained the passage with a notation that ended up as practically a little treatise on apotheosis. After many historical and erudite considerations, the discussion finishes by establishing a parallel with the translator's present. Commenting that dead princes' bodies were placed at the entrance to the palace, Savile writes in a marginal note to his note, "*In our time* after the death of the last Charles in France, his image was laid in a rich bed, in triumphant attire, with the crown upon his head, & the collar of the order about his neck, and forty days at ordinary hours dinner & supper was served in with all accustomed ceremonies, as sewing, water, grace, catuing, say taking, &c all the Cardinals, prelates, lords, gentlemen and officers attending in far greater solemnity, then if he had been alive"[342]. Once again we see that the sensibility of the times meant readers integrated historical texts as a part of their knowledge of the world, a practice far different from our own. In the case of Savile, the comparison is noteworthy for its caution – the ceremonies are only "*in part* conformable to the use of some countries in our time" – showing both his use of careful criteria and the ease with which the parallel was established[343].

There are other interesting cases in Savile's notes of the present interrupting his textual interpretation. In particular, I would point to the obviously political reading he proposes for a passage in the *Histories* I, 2. Here Tacitus describes Rome's worrying state of affairs and he refers to the practice of giving posts to informers. These posts were sometimes swapped with what he calls "inward credit" (*interior potentia*). From there, his notes show how the phrase leads him directly to a subject of great political concern in his time: "Such was the credit of Maecenas with Augustus, & of Salustius Crispus [...] In sum, such as cared not to bear office of honour, but otherwise governed the Prince peaceably, in quality of favorites, or minions, as they call them"[344].

This is a curious example of extracting lessons from history. The lesson's origin lay in a carefully examined text, which Savile then thematically linked to other parts of Tacitus's works while approaching the present with few limitations. The interpretation unfolds. The text provokes, it suggests a parallel, but the reader makes it material and re-places it in a context that is meaningful both to him and the times. A reader of our time could understand the parallel but would be unable to summon it up for his or her own present because they would lack the necessary reading practices and therefore would place the text in a quite different horizon of expectation.

The political use of Tacitus's text is easily seen in vernacular translations, but clearly it extended to many different sorts of works. After Portugal rebelled from Castile in

1640, Francisco de Quevedo left us a fine example of the political uses to which Tacitus could be put. In his case, it is interesting to note not just that he chose Tacitus to establish a parallel between past and present but furthermore that Quevedo, who here pretends not to be a Spaniard, explicitly recommended a passage as a guide for the events taking place at that time. The passage in question comes when Cerialis tells the Treveri: "Although often provoked by you, the only use we have made of our rights as victors has been to impose on you the necessary costs of maintaining peace" and he recommends that they "love and cherish peace and the city wherein we, conquerors and conquered alike, enjoy an equal right"[345]. According to Quevedo, the passage "literally and individually speaks to them and to us, as if it were written today"[346]. Quevedo's eloquent recommendation shows us how it was possible to read Tacitus "as if it were written today".

Distance

The translation of toponyms, monetary amounts, posts, and offices constituted an open door for contact between the time of the translation and the classical past. Marginal notations, notes, and other elements of books were tools that allowed the text to make the leap to the present. As I have tried to show, Tacitus was carefully read and translated, so much so that practically any textual detail or word could trigger such a leap. But at the same time, reading Tacitus also could heighten the perception of difference between the Roman Empire and the practices and realities of the 16th and 17th centuries. Explications about Roman magistracies and customs in notes or glossaries drawn up specifically for that purpose, as well as certain choices regarding the translation, could emphasize the fact that Tacitus's text was indeed an artifact of the past. But this second option happily cohabited with the first in the same translation.

There are certain passages in the body of Tacitus's works, however, whose analysis emphatically tips the scale toward conceiving of antiquity as an entirely differentiated historical era. These are the instances I referred to when I spoke of the distance, the temporal gap between Tacitus and the modern era. Among others, the first that leaps to mind, naturally, is the fact that Tacitus describes a pagan world far distant from Christianity. In contrast to the examples discussed above, in which translators could go this way or that regarding historical distance, there were other cases in which they were obliged to take a stand against the text. At the very least, they had to point to his error in order to justify it.

The perception of this distance therefore did not only affect early-modern critical capacity to differentiate antiquity as a discrete historical era. Translating certain passages was not just a historical or historiographic problem but a problem of judging the past. Distance between eras in these cases constituted a hierarchical relationship between the text – inferior and mistaken – and the truth in which translators and readers lived. This was an extremely powerful issue for translators because it cast doubt on their ability to use Tacitus as a political guide for the present. Faced with certain passages, editors and translators had to ask themselves if it was possible to use Tacitus in the present despite the differences and errors in his text, written in an ancient age that had not yet accepted the truth of Christianity.

The majority of such cases, as I said, arose over passages that were erroneous or polemical from a Christian point of view. But some authors distanced themselves from Tacitus over other matters. Henry Savile's notes to his translation of *Agricola* illustrate his interest in geometry and astronomy and his differences over some of Tacitus's points[347]. Savile criticizes Tacitus for mentioning the Earth's "extreme and plain parts", showing his erroneous understanding of the planet's shape. As we will see, Savile could ignore some of Tacitus's pagan notions, but he felt obliged to call attention to what he considered "very vulgar conceits in so great a man". On the same point he spoke ironically of a "Panegirist" who, "as though Tacitus had delivered us here matter worthy of imitation, had taken the pains to assume this hye point of learning *ad verbum* into his oration"[348]. With these words, Savile distances himself both from a vulgar passage and from interpretations he deems excessive, typical of a panegirist and not of a careful scholar able to distinguish weak points and assert his knowledge over his professed admiration of Tacitus.

But Savile's interest in geometry was unusual. For most translators, the sticky points of the text were those where Tacitus uttered opinions that contradicted Christian faith. One such point comes with the excursus on man's destiny, in the sixth book of the *Annals*. Emanuel Sueyro's margin note warns readers that "Tacitus speaks as a Gentile", while Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos writes in his that the text is a "Gentile discourse on human affairs"[349]. The translations of Antonio de Herrera and Carlos Coloma both contextualize the passage by referring to judiciary astrology (*astrologia iudiciaria*)[350]. Herrera terms the text "a discourse on the art of foretelling"[351] while Coloma affirms that Tacitus "reflects on the judiciary"[352]. Other marginal notes in Coloma's translation go on to state explicit opinions on the translated text: the first says, "here he appears to go down one path, though hesitantly"; the second says, "he leans toward believing seers"; and the third, "had he concluded from here that

there is an afterlife, this would be the wretched reasoning of a pagan"[353]. The linkage between the text and the present has given way to a clear sensation of distance, expressed in various degrees. It is as if the text were in suspension, almost refuted by the voices in the various marginal notes.

Adriano Politi's Italian translation left the passage with no added commentary, which was also the case in Greenwey's English translation[354]. But there were marginal notes in Canini's compilation, perhaps following Álamos's example. Canini called Tacitus's excursus "a Gentile discourse" and warned readers that Tacitus "approved destiny" and attributed "some power to the stars"[355]. But while the digression on man's destiny conflicted with the Catholic doctrine of providence, Tacitus elsewhere made affirmations that were incompatible with Christianity in general. That is where the criticisms and clarifications abounded.

One such passage appears in *Histories* I, 3. Here Tacitus affirms, "never was it more fully proved by awful disasters of the Roman people or by indubitable signs that the gods care not for our safety, but for our punishment"[356]. Justus Lipsius in his notes had tried to soften his interpretation to make it more accessible to Christian readers[357]. In a diversionary maneuver, he quoted some earlier verses by Lucanus containing similar interpretations of destiny: "Fortunate indeed would Rome be, and happy her citizens hereafter, if the gods were as careful to preserve her freedom as they are to avenge it"[358]. The notation may have worked in some cases, but it did not stop Boccalini from issuing sharp criticism in his *Ragguagli*. Quevedo later did the same[359].

Henry Savile adopted the same strategy as Lipsius. In the 1598 second edition of his translation, without citing Lipsius, he incorporated Lucanus's verses as a way of justifying Tacitus. Already in the first edition of 1591, however, he strategically had compared Tacitus's affirmation with a point made by Pliny in the *Panegyricus*. According to Savile, Pliny too atributed "to the gods both qualities, to save us from harm, and to revenge us when we are harmed, and carrying a more reverent conceit of them, than his fellow Tacitus seemed to do in this place and in some other places beside"[360]. The other two places cited by Savile are *Annals* XIV, 12 and XVI, 33. He therefore makes no mention of the most controversial passages, which were *Annals* XV, 44 and *Histories* V, 3. His conclusion is that Tacitus "yet in some other places he let fall sometimes religious sentences, caring himself as it were in balance doubtfully between the carelessness of Polybius that way, and the superstitiousness of Livy, two principal writers of the Roman story"[361]. His contextualization deepens

the distance between Tacitus and the present but also saves his interpretation; the history of Rome was written by profane writers who held superstitious religious ideas. Among them, Savile implies, was Tacitus.

Religious differences with antiquity meant there was an almost unbridgeable gap with regard to the Latin text. These differences constantly led the most critical authors to interpret Tacitus's statements as errors, mistakes that delegitimized him and made his works invalid. The only recourse his defenders had was to emphasize the distance between the two eras. But in deepening the historicization of the text, they quite naturally undermined its utility for the present. A clear illustration of the problem can be seen in the additions that Álamos de Barrientos made to his aphorisms when he published them along with his translation. One manuscript aphorism, for example, says, "discreet generals must interpret omens", which obviously contradicts the teachings of Christianity[362]. The corrected aphorism in the printed edition read, "ancient and Gentile generals had the custom of interpreting..."[363]. The new version, designed to avoid difficulties, did so by underlining the differences between the two eras and their religious practices. Thus the aphorism became useless; it was no longer a guide to the present but just a simple historical commentary on a past era.

The two most criticized passages of Tacitus, as I indicated, were *Annals* XV, 44 and *Histories* V, 3. Savile did not even mention them, merely indicating that at certain points Tacitus was disrespectful. The passages in question were controversial in part because of their obviously polemical content but also because commentators fed upon their predecessors. Just as one translation passed on to the next the image of Tacitus as difficult, terse, or politically astute, so too the criticisms of his impiety and dangerous manner of thinking repeated themselves, based on the same passages, over and over again. I would like to discuss here the second of the two passages, in which Tacitus casts doubt on Moses's miraculous discovery of water in the desert: "Moses followed [a herd of wild asses], and, conjecturing the truth from the grassy ground, discovered abundant streams of water"[364]. Obviously, those who believed the Bible story would be offended by such an interpretation. This passage from the *Histories*, as it happens, was one of the earliest to attract criticism; Tertullian, in his *Apologeticum* (XVI, 3), called Tacitus a chatty liar (*ille mendaciorum loquacissimus*) for his interpretation of the episode[365].

Neither Álamos de Barrientos nor Emanuel Sueyro added marginal notes or other commentaries to this passage. Nor did Canini or Adriano Politi. Horatio Giannet-

ti's dedication to Politi's translation, however, did refer to the issue. Giannetti said he wished Tacitus had been more careful and diligent in his manner of referring to Christians and Jews. He indicated that Lipsius often tried to excuse Tacitus's deficiencies in this respect "with the authority of other writers who in their books made similar commentaries on this people [the Jews]". Giannetti did not approve of the strategy but was relatively understanding, going so far as to say Tacitus's attitude toward Christians could be justified by the "great contempt" with which "we were" treated. As for the Jews, Tacitus "could have employed more realistic arguments had he tried to study their history instead of Greek fables"[366].

Other translators did include commentaries marking their distance from Tacitus's interpretation of Moses in the desert. Carlos Coloma, for example, whose marginal notes were in part written by Fray Leandro de San Martín, criticized Tacitus's simplistic interpretation. Alongside the passage he wrote disdainfully, "they didn't buy that cheaply"; in other words, Tacitus erred on the side of simplicity. Earlier, other marginal notes indicated Tacitus's explanation of the origin of the Jews was "fictitious" and "laughable"; he included "many vain and false opinions" in his narrative, and he relied on "Greek fabrications" instead of on biblical truths[367]. This last note suggests that Fray Leandro de San Martín probably was repeating Giannetti, who earlier had referred to the Greeks' fables and lies.

Criticisms of the passage from *Histories* V, 3 show clearly that the reception of Tacitus was not confined to Latin editions, translations, and commentaries, but rather it spilled over into odd allusions, imitations, and references. Thomas Nashe, in his *Christ's Tears Over Jerusalem* (1593) criticized atheists and followers of Pyrrho, saying the latter relied upon classical authorities such as Cornelius Tacitus to "make Moses a wise provident man, well seen in the Egyptian learning, but deny he had any divine assistance in the greatest of his miracles. The water (they say) which he struck out of a rock in the wilderness was not by any supernatural work of God, but by watching to what part the wild asses repaired for drink"[368]. In 1612, the Spaniard Juan Márquez, who knew both Tacitus's text and the original condemnation by Tertullian, relied upon this same passage when he criticized "Cornelius Tacitus's vanity"[369].

Moses's miraculous or non-miraculous discovery of water was the object of an infinite number of criticisms, but the most polemical passage of all was without a doubt chapter forty-four of the fifteenth book of the *Annales*. Here Tacitus addresses the persecution of the Christians under Nero. At one point he tells us that "[Nero] substituted as culprits, and punished with the utmost and refined cruelty a class of

men, loathed for their vices, whom the crowd styled Christians". Further on he describes Christianity as "harmful", a "pernicious superstition" *(exitiabilis superstitio)*, and writes that "*ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt*": "vast numbers [of Christians] were convicted, not so much on the count of arson as for hatred of the human race"[370]. No early modern reader could ignore the contrast between the pagan Tacitus and his own Christian world.

This phrase also had been spotted and criticized by Tertullian in the *Apologeticum* (XXXVII, 8) but it is important to point out that Tertullian's version did not exactly capture the meaning of the text: "Yet you choose to call us enemies of the human race, rather than of human error"[371]. Orosius also referred to the passage in his *Historiae adversum paganos*, where he called Cornelius Tacitus a liar, a flatterer, a fool, a sloppy historian, and a hateful man[372]. Such attacks were received and amplified in the early modern era and they provided the basis for a negative vision of Tacitus as a badly-informed and dishonest pagan. In France, Guillaume Budé took up the criticism in 1557[373]. Tommasso Garzoni also was familiar with Terullian and Orosius and mentioned their criticisms of Tacitus in his *Piazza universale*, first published in 1585[374].

But there were others who tried to defend Tacitus. According to Jean Bodin, he had not been impious in his criticisms against the Christians – against "us", Bodin wrote. Tacitus was a pagan and therefore could be considered impious only if he had not defended the religion he himself considered true and attempted to destroy all others[375]. Bodin admitted, naturally, that Tacitus was impious inasmuch as he was not a Christian. However, making use of a fine historical sense, he argued that the accusations against him were based on an incorrect appreciation of the differences between the two historical eras. Bodin took a somewhat relativist approach in interpreting the passage; the principle of the defense of an official state religion was maintained, but the contents of such a religion changed according to the era. But Kenneth Schellhase has pointed out that despite Bodin's efforts, the defense did not achieve the desired aims. In refuting Budé, Tertullian, and Orosius, Bodin merely drew addition attention to the controversial passage[376].

In fact, historical distance was necessary in order to justify reading not just Tacitus but practically any classical author. That was the argument of Marc Antoine Muret in a speech delivered in 1580. Muret was willing to accept much of what Terullian said, but he defended Tacitus by saying, quite reasonably, that if one could read only those writers approved by Christianity then one would have to omit all classical

writers in one fell swoop[377]. Once again, Tacitus's defenders were forced to resort to the separation of the present from antiquity, but for the most devout Christians even these arguments were dubious. Juan Márquez, for example, criticized Bodin for differentiating between official Roman religion and Christianity. Márquez argued quite articulately that already in Tacitus's era there was proof of Christianity's truth and that Tacitus should have embraced it[378].

Vernacular translations of Tacitus could not remain on the sidelines of this debate, of course. Implicitly or explicitly, prefaces to the French versions frequently referred to the controversy and to Bodin's arguments. Robert le Maistre, for example, used Bodin in his 1627 preface to the reader, emphasizing how important Tacitus's public role had been and defending him from attacks by church fathers such as Tertullian[379]. Achille de Harlay de Chanvalon also adopted Bodin's defense in his preface, using language that illustrates how this controversy affected 17th-century religious debates; according to Chanvalon, Tacitus "lived amid the religion of his country, he followed the law of his prince, and he could not vary from this without risking his life"[380].

With regard to translations into Spanish, Sueyro dealt with the controversial passage by adding a neutral notation saying simply, "Nero falsely accused the Christians", a phrase that also appeared in the index, as was the custom. However at the point where the text refers to Christianity as superstition, we see a brusque order: "Quiet, you impious man"[381]. This notation, which obviously does not appear in the index, probably was copied from Lipsius's 1598 edition (though it did not appear in the 1581 edition)[382]. It interrupts any possible dialogue with antiquity, commanding the Latin writer to remain silent. An anonymous reader of the 1619 edition of Sueyro's translation went even further, apparently considering the translator's admonition to be insufficient: he simply crossed out Tacitus's criticisms of the Christians[383] (Fig. 10).

In contrast, Álamos de Barrientos attempted to avoid the two polemical passages from *Annals* XV, 44 altogether. His silence leaps out from the surprisingly white, blank margins, a sharp contrast to his other pages full of marginal notes and aphorisms. Álamos translated the text, "they were not so much convinced and condemned for the crime of the fire (of which they were accused) but because of the hatred of the human race", but he accompanied this text with a marginal note that somewhat broadened Lipsius's attempt at a favorable interpretation: "He means to say, according to Lipsius, that they were convicted by people who hated the human race; this was attributed to Nero, he means to say, that he hated them as he did all men"[384].

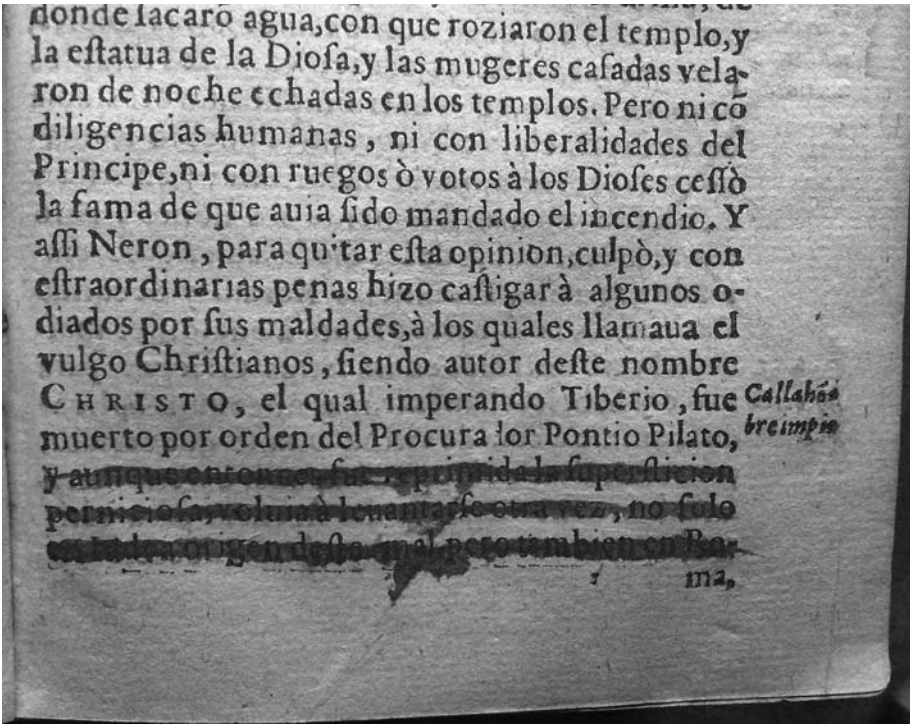

donde lacaro agua,con que roziaron el templo,y
la eſtatua de la Dioſa,y las mugeres caſadas vela-
ron de noche echadas en los templos. Pero ni cõ
diligencias humanas, ni con liberalidades del
Principe,ni con ruegos ò votos à los Dioſes ceſſò
la fama de que auia ſido mandado el incendio. Y
aſſi Neron, para quitar eſta opinion,culpò,y con
eſtraordinarias penas hizo caſtigar à algunos o-
diados por ſus maldades,à los quales llamaua el
vulgo Chriſtianos, ſiendo autor deſte nombre
CHRISTO, el qual imperando Tiberio, fue
muerto por orden del Procurador Pontio Pilato,
y aunque entonces fue reprimida la ſuperſticion
perniciosa, volvió à leuantarſe otra vez, no ſolo
en Iudea origen deſte mal, pero tambien en Ro-
ma,
Callahõs
bre impio

Fig. 10
Printed marginal note which reads "*Calla hombre impío* (Quiet, you impious man)" and crossed-out sentences on a copy of Tacitus, *Las Obras de C. Cornelio Tacito* (trans. E. Sueyro), Antwerp 1619.

Álamos here strategically says nothing about a point that inspired the most extreme positions on Tacitus, both positive and negative. In fact, just before reaching the controversial passages, Álamos offered a positive vision of the text. Right as the passage begins, Álamos explicitly makes note of the temporal difference but, unlike other translators, he uses it to benefit the text. The passages that Álamos so intelligently used for this purpose speak of the consequences of the fire that swept through Rome, about which Tacitus says, "So far, the precautions taken were suggested by human prudence: now means were sought for appeasing deity, and application was made to the Sibylline books: at the injunction of which public prayers were offered to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpine"[385]. First, his translation of "for appeasing deity" was "for cleansing themselves of sin, which had been the cause of the disaster". Sec-

ond, the aphorism states, "when calamities occur to the people, it is necessary not only to seek remedies from human counsel but to turn to God with prayers, and even the Gentiles without the light of Faith did it thus"[386]. In contrast, Coloma, in the margins of his translation, wrote, "Superstitions and ridiculous vows"[387].

Canini's edition includes Álamos's aphorisms, but his position regarding these passages, once again expressed in marginal notes, was all his own. At the point where the Spanish translator had remained silent, the Italian was quite eloquent. The Christians had not only been "blamed" for the fire, they were "martyred". They had been "falsely reviled by Tacitus", a writer described as a Gentile lacking "the light of our faith"[388]. Richard Greenwey's translation reads, "Therefore to extinguish the rumour, *Nero* falsely accused and punished most grievously certain people, hated for their wickedness, which the common sort called Christians*". Marginal notes are uncommon in this edition, being reserved for dates or monetary equivalents. However in this case, we have a marginal note: "*The author being no Christian called Christian religion *Maleficium*"[389]. Tacitus refers to Christianity, as Greenwey says, as a "dangerous superstition", but he never uses the term *maleficium*. Whether Greenwey himself (which is unlikely) or an editor was responsible, the note, with its ignorance of the original text, deepened prejudices against the Latin author. The asterisk visually linking the (relatively neutral) translated text and the marginal note shows how a small marginal indication could change the original meaning.

Carlos Coloma was the translator whose criticism was sharpest and who best contextualized historically. He carefully distinguished the events of the narration and the translator's present. In this and other points one suspects the editor must have had a great deal to do with the final translation. As I said, it was not Coloma but rather Leandro de San Martín who printed the translation, composing a dedication expressing his hope that readers "will think that it is not Tacitus but rather the Ambassador of the Catholic King who speaks to them"[390]. His intent that the ambassador speaks through (or over) the pagan text is made manifest in the notes and thematic indices of this edition. Referring to the passage about Nero's hatred toward the Christians, the marginal note asks readers to consider the temporal difference and adds the following, radical critique: "Note that he speaks as a perfidious Gentile and a pagan and that he wrote during the time of one of the greatest persecutions of the Church, led by Trajan"[391].

Practically all translations offered some sort of explanation regarding this passage. An overview of the long debate appeared in Amelot de la Houssaye's *Critique de*

divers auteurs modernes qui ont traduit ou commenté les oeuvres de Tacite, which extensively quoted Jean Bodin who, as I noted above, was one of the most important interpreters of the passage and who justified it in his *Methodus*. Amelot also cited Antonio Possevino, perhaps one of the most important critics. However the most interesting aspect of the *Critique* is Amelot's commentaries on the translations of the passage. Just as Freinsheim and Canini had compared various points of Tacitus's text in various vernacular translations, Amelot compared this passage as it was translated by five authors. His aim was to demonstrate that its general meaning was the opposite of what was generally thought and that "therefore, according to Tacitus, it was the human race who hated them and not they who hated the human race". This interpretation followed the one proposed originally by Justus Lipsius. Other writers, including Álamos de Barrientos, had outlined this same interpretation in their margins. But the difference between Álamos and Amelot is that the latter defended Tacitus by denouncing the bad translations of his predecessors. The five versions that Amelot studied were by Perrot d'Ablancourt, Emanuel Sueyro, Achille de Harlay de Chanvalon, Carlos Coloma and Adriano Politi. Sueyro had translated correctly, as had Chanvalon. But Amelot denounced his enemy Perrot d'Ablancourt for his bad translation, and said Coloma's and Politi's works were "totally contrary to Tacitus's literal meaning"[392]. Furthermore, Amelot found that the Spaniard's translation had followed that of his Italian predecessor, as Coloma used the same language as Politi in this passage.

Comparisons among multiple versions is another example of how translations could determine the meaning of a difficult passage from the original. Cross-reading, typical of the early modern era, even facilitated, as in this case, resolutions without having to resort to the Latin. The way in which Amelot dealt with the controversial passage also points to the European-wide linkages in the reception of Tacitus. Confronting one translation with another, he also made manifest the differences in reception. In his critical retrospective, interpretations and political assessments of Tacitus were specifically linked to the practices and preferences of a given translator or commentator.

What Roger Chartier said about early modern reading in general can be applied to the case of Tacitus's translations into the vernacular; studying them, we are witnesses to the construction of meaning in which historical and social variables mediate between the text's "omnipotence" and the "freedom" of readers. The various operations by which Tacitus's text was modified during the early modern era correspond to a particular mode of reading, and reading is "a historically determined process

whose forms and models vary according to time, place, and community"[393]. Both moments of extreme distance from the text and moments of proximity to Tacitus offer historians a way to interpret reception. This textual combat, using notes, turns of phrases, and marginal additions as weapons, shows how the original text was modified through contact with early modern European culture. Translations into the vernacular show beautifully that classical antiquity was not conceived in the early modern era as a radically different time. There were many ways in which Roman history was linked to the present, and this temporal relationship meant history could be read and used effectively in the present tense. On the other hand, however, there was a limit to what history could teach, and Christian doctrine enforced an absolute subordination of the pagan writer to the culture that received him.

Epilogue. Translations, History, and Politics

When we open a copy of a translation of Tacitus from the 16th or 17th century, we immediately are aware of its historical nature. Its old, worn-out leather cover; the texture, smell, and color of the paper; and the unusual typeface all alert us to the long journey this book has made before coming into our hands. Throughout the previous chapters I have pointed to the material nature of translations of Tacitus, and I have described some of their specifically historical characteristics. I have argued that these books were made by translators with concrete interests and that their translations could contribute, just as the original works did, to the development of the public and intellectual careers of those who made them. I also have emphasized that translations were part of a European-wide process and that they had specific readers who interpreted the text in their own way.

In seeking commonalities among the various vernacular translations, one is struck by the fact that as one's observation grows sharper, idiosyncrasies and unique aspects become more apparent, and each individual translation offers new ways of deepening our analysis. The possibilities are nearly infinite. One could, for example, classify all the existing copies of a given translation, analyzing provenance, ownership, and modes of reading[394]. One also could study how each translation was printed and constructed. Adriano Politi took particular care with the orthography of his Sienese translation but in the end was forced (as was Sueyro) to bow to the judgment of the proofreader (*correttore della stampa*)[395]. These and other decisions made during the printing process could interfere with the interpretation of Tacitus, and they too constitute a large area for potential research. The study of errata and pagination of different copies of the same translation also would reveal valuable information about bookmaking and the printing process in the early modern era[396]. I have argued that translations of Tacitus were "political" and that they furthered a particular vision or strategy in the political world in which they appeared. One could spend one's lifetime studying in detail all Tacitus's early modern translations, one after another, tracing their political implications and their impact on their immediate context. Here we can just point to the way in which these political interpretations of Tacitus were constructed.

One of the clearest and better studied examples of the political nature of these works lies in the connection between Henry Savile's translation and the political ideas and behavior of the Earl of Essex. As we have seen, Essex's interest in Tacitus shows that the study and translation of classical authors was understood to be a very useful tool in furthering specific political interests in Elizabethan England. French translations

published during the reign of Louis XIII sought to strengthen royal authority and, as Etienne Thuau has pointed out, as a result Tacitus was seen as an apologist for absolute monarchy. Under the reign of Louis XIII, he said, "admiration for Tacitus went hand in hand with admiration for Richelieu"[397].

Spanish translations of Tacitus published during the reign of Philip II also reflected the political reality of the times. The three translations published in 1613-1615 appeared in the era of the *arbitristas*, whose widely circulated prescriptions to remedy the self-perceived decline of the monarchy were, in the words of John Elliott, "only in part economic"[398]. But it was an era not only of negative assessments but also of constant innovation. Antonio Feros has written of the creative impulses of political thought under Philip III's reign, including the creation of a new sort of royal favorite[399]. Translations of Tacitus in this context were part of a "fruitful theoretical and practical debate" in which intellectual analysis was seen to play an important role in the development of human affairs[400]. The start of the so-called Twelve-Year Truce with the Netherlands in 1609 also opened up a new era of political possibilities[401].

In 1698 in London, more than a dozen translators participated in a new translation of Tacitus. Among them were John Dryden and several other prominent literary Jacobites[402]. Though it is difficult to say for sure if the initiative was taken by printer and bookseller Mathew Gillyflower, Zwicker and Bywaters have written, "It seems likely not only that the translators were recruited for their politics but, further, that none but those with high Tory sensibilities or Jacobite sympathies would have joined such a politicized group"[403]. The idea was to publish a translation that would serve to denounce the political situation of the 1690s. Dryden, the principal translator, complained of the "decline of civic ideals". He wished, according to Zwicker and Bywaters, to "deplore the consequences of the Glorious Revolution" and "express several of his principal concerns under William: the illegitimacy and illegality of William's rise to power; the arbitrary nature of his rule; and the hypocrisy, treachery, and greed of those who had rebelled against James"[404]. Dryden took advantage of the translation to make known these views, establishing a parallel between William's accession to the throne and that of Augustus and denouncing William's tyranny with references to Tiberius.

Different translations could support different interpretations of the text by calling upon the various textual and editorial devices I analyzed in chapter two. But each translation also signalled a possible new reading with new political interpretations. As I have said, sources that could help us understand how people read these transla-

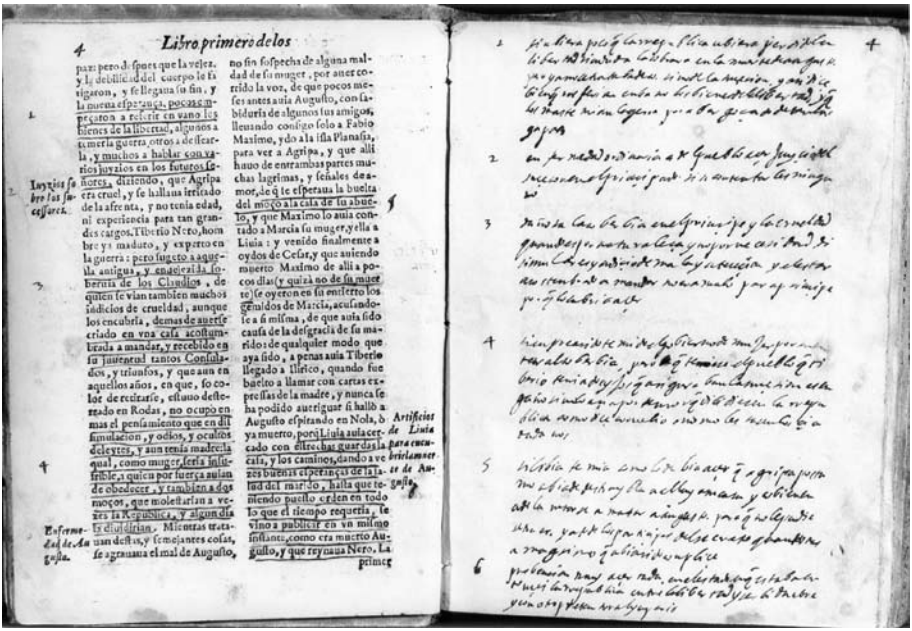


Fig. 11
Manuscript annotations in the margins and in the blank pages added to a copy of Tacitus, *Las Obras de C. Cornelio Tacito* (trans. E. Sueyro), Madrid 1614.

tions are scarce. Manuscript notations are in essence a direct dialogue between reader and text, offering direct testimony of how readers made sense of Tacitus, but very few have survived. Among those that have are the notes by an anonymous reader on Emanuel Sueyro's translation into Spanish.

The reader bound Sueyro's 1614 edition by alternating printed pages with blank ones, on which he wrote down all sorts of notations directly related to the text. As he read, he wrote about what he was reading. Like some translators, he used contemporary terminology for the past described in the text; for example, he described senators as "ministers". But he also placed the text into the linguistic and courtly universe he knew, interpreting the events described by Tacitus as flattery, deceit, and corruption, and noting the "dissimulation and sagacity of the prince", the use of "palace arts", and "ambition disguised as modesty"[405].

The reader is anonymous, but it is easy to see that his reading was aimed at the acquisition of political principles or advice. Through his notations, he transformed Tacitus's precise passages into generic reflections on politics. In so doing, the reader eliminated all references to particular personalities or events as narrated by Tacitus and instead used impersonal verbs and adverbs to derive an atemporal, universal set of rules. Just one example will suffice to show how he read: at the start of the first book of the *Annals*, Tacitus comments that previous histories of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero either told falsehoods about the emperors while they lived or spewed hatred toward them after their death. Our reader, nevertheless, chose to comment on the "usual drawbacks of elected rulers" and created a generic rule on the matter based on the *Annals* passage. Alamos de Barrientos's aphorisms on Tacitus show he read in a similar fashion; Charles Davis has said he sought to give the text an "air of universality"[406]. It is possible that the anonymous reader was drawing from contemporary examples such as the campaign against the duke of Lerma managed by the new king's new favorite, the count-duke of Olivares.

Some connections between translations and current political events are easier to identify than others. Even so, a careful study of all vernacular translations of Tacitus, looking at them one by one in their particular context, reveals the innumerable uses of each of the texts and sheds doubt, as I mentioned in the introduction, of there being any particular set of events in the 16th and 17th centuries that lent themselves especially to Tacitus's narrative. On the contrary, his texts were used to establish parallels with a wide range of early modern events in very different contexts, locations, and time periods and with varying results.

Does this mean that Tacitus was good for just about anything? To answer that question, we must keep in mind the difference between interpretation and overinterpretation. Umberto Eco made the point with a phrase containing both "while" and "crocodile". Naturally, he said, there is a relationship between the two words, as they appear in the same sentence, but to deduce "from this minimal relationship the maximum possible" or to see "beneath my example a secret, to which I allude" would simply be paranoid[407]. Has Tacitus been overinterpreted? It is possible that some of his commentators and translators did go too far, and in fact some early modern commentators denounced others for misinterpreting the Latin writer.

Anthony Grafton compared Johannes Kepler's and Arnold Clapmarius's interpretations of the passage in *Histories* I, 4 in which Tacitus says, "for the secret of empire was now disclosed, that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome"[408].

Clapmarius, whose *De Arcanis rerum publicarum libri sex* was published posthumously in 1605, devoted an entire chapter to this passage. He "inferred that Tacitus was stating a formal, secret law of the Roman empire, a principle consciously (if covertly) applied by Augustus and Tiberius". In contrast, Grafton wrote, Kepler "insisted on treating Tacitus's work as an organic whole, in both its content and its expression" and "urged his reader to find in it not simple, ready-to-serve lessons". Kepler, in interpreting this passage of the *Histories*, insisted Tacitus was merely describing a concrete situation, but his manner of reading was doubtless not that of the majority in his era[409].

Overinterpretation is one of the most outstanding features of the early modern reception of Tacitus. Vernacular translations, like Latin editions and the many commentaries based on Tacitus's works, actively promoted such detailed interpretations. They asked readers to consider the text with the greatest possible precision and seek in it a hidden treasure of wisdom and maxims. When studying translations from a historical point of view, it is important to keep this in mind, for through it we can see how translation, history, and politics were all linked.

This approach to the vernacular translation of Tacitus is different than that used by the history of political thought. Many studies of Tacitus have seen translation as merely a quantitative extension of the ideas contained in the text. My approach, in contrast, underlines the importance of the interpretative method and the tools with which the text was handled. Philological or literary studies generally have a more distinct notion of difference between the original text and early modern versions, but in analyzing the difference they often concentrate, as I have said, on the precision with which translations were executed, their stylistic qualities, and if they preserved the literary values of the original Latin.

Literary scholars at the same time insist that historical works from antiquity should be considered as fundamentally literary works. A. J. Woodman, for example, has argued that there is nothing more dangerous than approaching ancient and early modern historians with the same assumptions; the ancients, he says, must be regarded "as the writers of literature which they are"[410]. Similarly, José Luis Moralejo regards Tacitus's historical narrative as "an artistic activity subjected to aesthetic conventions"[411]. From a historical point of view, we should create a general, global way of understanding the particular ways in which Tacitus was received. Philology suggests a key element: in the classical world, the notion of history as a discipline, as a literary genre, was very different than it is today. The discipline has the same

name as it did – history – but its content and assumptions are quite different[412]. In order to understand how Tacitus was read and interpreted in the early modern era it is therefore essential to understand what people expected of history in the 16th and 17th centuries. Tacitus was received as a historian, and his works were read using prevailing historical theories as a point of reference. In essence, history was understood to be a warehouse of examples and precepts which, if they were correctly processed and collected in an orderly fashion, would provide readers with a guide to political action.

Instructions for reading history

The principal objective of Jean Bodin's *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (1566) was to show how to "cull flowers from history to gather thereof the sweetest fruits"[413]. Bodin had a broad understanding of history, considering it a source of knowledge about the human, divine, and natural realms. In his *Methodus* he also explained the uses of history, the distinct types of history in existence, and the succession of eras and historians making up the classical and modern corpus. The *Methodus* furthermore included lessons on how best to read and learn from history, a matter he addressed in the third chapter, "*De locis historiarum recte instituendis*".

Here Bodin proposed the creation of a commonplace book for each of the three branches of history (human, divine, and natural) and explained in detail how to compose the notebook on human history. According to him, it should be divided up into chapters, each with a heading or keyword indicating its theme. In suggesting certain headings, Bodin followed (as he did elsewhere) Aristotle's divisions of ethics, economics, and politics. Under the category of morals, Bodin proposed headings such as the obscurity or nobility of birth, life, death, etc. Under domestic life he suggested love, hate, neighbors, relatives, and so forth. Under civil discipline (i. e., politics) he suggested supreme authority, royal authority, tyranny, the popular estate, etc. Bodin did not regard these headings as fixed but rather as proposals for the reader, who could use them or choose others as he pleased. Having put together this notebook, readers then would simply have to file everything they encountered in their reading according to the previously established headings. The point of the exercise was to gather excerpts and quotations and classify them in such a way that they could be used later on. Bodin further suggested that every time one made a notation in this commonplace book, one also make a marginal notation in the book one was reading, indicating the sort of lesson offered by that particular passage; for example,

C.H. might indicate *conseil honorable* (honorable advice) and C.D.U. might indicate *conseil déshonnête mais utile* (a dishonest but useful piece of advice)[414].

Bodin's *Methodus* was not an isolated case. It was part of a genre devoted to the description of the stylistic and epistemological nature of history, a genre known as *ars historica*. Bodin's ideas regarding the utility of the discipline of history for understanding the development of human activity were shared by many of his contemporaries. History's didactic and exemplary worth and its ability to offer guidelines and rules of behavior were frequently praised from the 16th century onward. Though many works on history were presented as writing guides for authors, Anthony Grafton has pointed out that the genre was essentially "a hermeneutical discipline, a set of rules for critical readers of history, rather than a set of canons for effective writers"[415].

Bodin's proposals regarding history – how to read it, take notes, classify it, and learn from it – were inspired by the general techniques of humanist reading. More concretely, in his third chapter Bodin proposed applying the commonplace method to the reading of history. Ann Moss has written that this "technical support system" was one of the most important elements in the construction of early modern intellectual paradigms and that it played an important role "in structuring the receptivity of early modern readers"[416]. As is easy to see from Bodin's recommendations, the method basically consisted in copying out excerpts while reading classical works so as to prepare these fruits for later use by the notebook owner. The notebook was an aid in the art of argument and it offered solid bases on which to reason as well as to write, functioning as a warehouse of helpful examples and rhetorical devices. This way of reading and classifying information was well established, as can be seen from the intense debate regarding the method, the publication of printed commonplace books, and the survival of a great many of these personal manuscript notebooks.

Vernacular translations of Tacitus formed part of this conception of history and they recommended it to their potential readers. Prefaces and dedications praised in general terms the type of knowledge that history offered. In this way they prefigured the sort of reading they would be subject to, they anticipated the outcome and the lessons to be derived from reading. It is possible that in fact they did not have to insist quite so much on history's importance, being that the discipline's virtues were well known in the era. The anonymous French P.D.B. said in his 1599 preface to readers that he was not going to insist on praising history, which needed no more praise. In fact, he said, the subject had been dealt with so exhaustively that it would be like "showing that the sun is bright and luminous"[417].

Robert Le Maistre in 1616 wrote of history's benefits and, naturally, the praise was directed at his translation's dedicatee, none other than the king. Le Maistre told Louis XIII that history was "the academy where kings learn to conquer thrones, grasp scepters, preserve estates, and rise above glory"[418]. When the French translation of Tacitus by Fauchet and De la Planche was published in Geneva in 1594, in a revised edition dedicated to the president of the Parlement of Paris, Nicholas de Brulard, the publisher chose to make an allusion to Polybius: history, he said, "is a true discipline and an exercise fitting and suited for all those dedicated to civil and state affairs"[419]. Richard Greenwey's approach to the history question was a more conventional one, basing itself on rhetorical variations of Cicero's *De Oratore*: "History, which bears witness to the passing of the ages, sheds light upon reality, gives life to recollection and guidance to human existence, and brings tidings of ancient days"[420]. In Greenwey's version, history is "the treasure of times past, and as well a guide, an image of man's present estate, a true and lively pattern of things to come, and as some term it, the work-mistress of experience, which is the mother of prudence"[421].

Vernacular translations of Tacitus combined praise for history with praise for Tacitus. The most frequent formula was to say that if history was a most worthy discipline, then Tacitus was among its most outstanding representatives. The origin of these eulogies for Caius Cornelius Tacitus and his works – being that sometimes Tacitus was praised for his public service – surely lies in his portraits in the Latin editions. Possibly the most influential text in the creation of Tacitus's image in the early modern era, as I have said elsewhere, was the dedication to emperor Maximilian II:

> He was an acute writer and, by heaven, a prudent one, and if ever he was useful in the hands of men, he would certainly be in these times and circumstances. He does not recite the victories of Hannibal, almost fatal to the Romans, nor the outstanding death of Lucretia, nor the prodigies of seers nor the Etruscan portents, nor all the other things that are more likely to please than to instruct the reader. I think every one should consider in him the court of princes, their private life, counsels, commands and deeds, and from the obvious similarity between those times and our own (*nostrorum temporum similitudine*), expect like results from the same causes[422].

In 1619, Robert le Maistre called Tacitus "an author full of instruction and maxims of state regarding the understanding of all military and political affairs and therefore of great use to kings and princes"[423]. Ithier Hobier in 1639 wrote, "Tacitus has always been regarded as one of the best historians, especially by those who must live at the court of kings and princes"[424]. Achille de Harlay de Chanvalon's definition, based on the same elements found in nearly all presentations of Tacitus, was that the

Latin historian was a "trustworthy historian, a very great man of state, and a courtier who perfectly understood the tangled affairs (*demesles*) of government"[425]. Richard Greenwey's profile of Tacitus, though relying upon the usual tropes, differed somewhat from that of these three translators. For Greenwey, "Tacitus may by good right challenge the first place among the best. In judgement there is none sounder, for instruction of life, for all times, to those which oft read him judiciously, nothing yielding to the best Philosophers"[426]. He thus presents Tacitus less as a public model and more as a guide for men's private lives. J.H.M. Salmon in this regard wrote that Greenwey's presentation of Tacitus stands out for its "insistence upon the general lesson" and that Tacitus "assumed the status of a philosopher"[427].

Along with these general assessments of Tacitus, some vernacular translations also offered concrete pointers on how readers could best take advantage of the text. In his dedication to the duke of Lerma, Alamos de Barrientos said one could "possess" Tacitus only by constant reading (*continua lección*). Similar advice can be found in Greenwey's dedication, as we just saw ("to those which oft read him judiciously"). Behind these instructions there is a clear reference to early modern theories of reading. Frequently it was recommended that readers study a work several times so as to best understand all the information and capture all the messages, from interesting rhetorical turns to illustrative passages on a given moral or political matter, to knowledge of a past culture[428].

Alamos went so far as to say that the "virtues and value of Tacitus's writings" could be grasped, appreciated, and used only if they were read in a certain way, i.e. by "constant reading and use of the precepts and advice learned and taken" from the writings[429]. Here we have a bit of overinterpretation, further emphasized when he said that the more experienced a reader on certain subjects, the more lessons "will be found and discovered" in Tacitus. Repeated references to Tacitus's brevity and obscure style and the image of his works as a treasure chest full of jewels were already working to recommend the most detailed and painstaking reading possible. Jacob Soll has drawn attention to the importance of "the process by which Tacitus was read, broken down and 'represented' by scholarly editors". As he indicated, humanist scholarship is both the basis of Tacitean political theory and the key for understanding how it works, for "Tacitism was an editorial practice, and thus scholarly editors became political theorists"[430]. Lipsius, for example, said Tacitus's works were "an orchard and seminary of precepts" (*hortus et seminarium praeceptorum*) and he compared the way Tacitus inserted maxims to the way "those who embroider garments ... cleverly attach gems without mixing up or harming the design"[431].

The aphorisms in the margins of Álamos de Barrientos's *Tácito español* therefore constituted a guide for how to read Tacitus. The official privilege (*privilegio*) to publish the book stated that the aphorisms are "fruits plucked from history and the doctrine learned through reading history". Aphorisms made it easier to process texts as one read them. Thanks to aphorisms, readers could more easily reap the teachings of history, "finding in them what would otherwise have cost them much time and effort to understand"[432]. This notion of using history is also found in Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios's official approbation of Emanuel Sueyro's translation, according to which reading Tacitus "can be beneficial for learning about matters of both war and peace concerning the Romans and as an example of other matters in today's world"[433]. Translations of Tacitus made this sort of interpretation or textual use particularly easy through their indices. The heading of an index could help readers quickly find the sort of teachings they were looking for, and indices were considered so important that their presence was announced on the cover. The cover of Canini's translation announced that the book contained an index of "Commonplaces, a true and copious index of all proper names and of all historical, political and moral matters".

Beyond the translator's concrete intentions or interest in emphasizing certain political questions, the political use of Tacitus's texts was based on early modern reading theory and practice. The nexus uniting politics and the vernacular translations of Tacitus, therefore, was the idea of history and what people could expect from reading history. History was not just being recommended and used as a means of knowledge about human affairs and a guide for behavior, it was a form of knowledge in a much broader sense, as a recently edited volume by Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi makes clear. History was characterized by its "ubiquity" in early modern learning, and it occupied an outstanding place among disciplines "ranging from antiquarian studies and civil history to medicine and natural philosophy"[434].

Translations of Tacitus allowed his works to be used for political as well as for moral and other lessons, but the intellectual foundation on which these interpretations rested was the idea of history. History, in the early modern era, was not simply a literary genre but an epistemic one. As Arno Seifert has shown, history above all pointed to a *modus cognoscendi*, a way of learning. If today it is difficult for us to grasp such a significance of history it is because our concept of history derives from the turn of the 20th century, a time when the natural sciences were being categorized and history too acquired a renovated epistemological foundation. The retrospective analysis of the development of natural science and humanities has since then radically separated history from other modes of knowledge, reducing it in large part to a

literary genre. In that regard, Pomata and Siraisi have noted "how questionable and grossly anachronistic are the disciplinary boundaries that are sometimes projected onto early modern culture"[435].

Peter Burke called Tacitism "a most unscientific, unempirical procedure; the generalizations were taken from books, not from observation"[436]. He is absolutely correct according to our own definition of scientific knowledge, but readers of Tacitus in the early modern era did not share those definitions and therefore they could indeed acquire political lessons from their reading. Several scholars have tried to blur the classical opposition between direct observation and book learning. Ann Blair, for example, has shown that reading practices and the acquisition of textual extracts, which she calls *ars excerpendi*, were common to a long list of disciplines. In her analysis of Jean Bodin's *Universae naturae theatrum* (1596), Blair shows that Bodin "uses the commonplace book as an arsenal of 'factoids', tidbits of knowledge which he divorces from their original context in order to suit his own purposes". She also shows that Bodin drew on his own direct, personal experience, thus joining traditional information with recent information, book knowledge with observation[437]. And in her study of Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum humanae vitae*, Blair says the categorically and thematically organized *exempla* constitute "textual 'facts', short segments or nuggets of text that have been purposefully detached from the contexts in which they first appeared"[438].

In their prefaces and dedications, Tacitus's vernacular translators showed they shared this vision of history. The tool for extracting all the "textual 'facts'" or "factoids" with which to construct political arguments was careful, detailed reading. Translations might encourage a political interpretation of the text in one direction or another which might be of a general nature but might also derive from a certain kind of reading to which the reader was deliberately directed. Printed marginal notes filled the space of any possible personal notation and determined the text's meaning in advance, and thus a text that a reader could mark as containing "palace arts" was suggested to be read as a reference to "hellish reason of state"[439]. Tacitus's translations were political not only in their content but also in how they were read and used. Inserted into a new context and raised to the category of universally applicable lessons, fragments from Tacitus became ways of explaining the present. The method was inherently political, as politics was conceived as a comprehensible discipline that was accessible for human intellectual abilities.

Notes

[1] In fact, Tacitus's works became Europe's most popular history books in the period 1600-1649 according to P. Burke, *A Survey in the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700*, in "History and Theory", 1966, 5, p. 137.

[2] P. Burke, *Translating Histories*, in P. Burke, R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2007, p. 126.

[3] See M.W. Croll, *Muret and the History of "Attic prose"*, in J.M. Patrick, R.O. Evans, J.M. Wallace (eds.), *"Attic" and Baroque Prose Style. Essays by Morris W. Croll*, Princeton 1969, pp. 107-165; and M.W. Croll, *Attic prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon*, in Patrick, Evans, Wallace (eds.), *"Attic" and Baroque Prose* cit., pp. 167-202.

[4] L. Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader*, London - New York 2000, pp. 1-2. See also G. Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, Oxford 1975.

[5] F. Lafarga (ed.), *El discurso sobre la traducción en la historia. Antología bilingüe*, Barcelona 1996; J.C. Santoyo (ed.), *Teoría y crítica de la traducción: antología*, Barcelona 1987; M.A.Vega (ed.), *Textos clásicos de teoría de la traducción*, Madrid 1994; T.R. Steiner, *English Translation Theory, 1650-1800*, Assen 1975; H. van Hoof, *Histoire de la traduction en occident: France, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne, Russie, Pays-Bas*, Paris - Louvaine-la-Neuve 1991.

[6] T. Hermans (ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, Beckenham (Kent) 1985, pp. 11-15.

[7] Burke, Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation* cit., p. 2; M. Ballard, L. D'Hulst, *La traduction en France à l'âge classique*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 1996, p. 9.

[8] R. Boone, *Claude de Seyssel's Translations of Ancient Historians*, in "Journal of the History of Ideas", 2000, 61, 4, p. 561.

[9] Burke, Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation* cit., p. 1.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[12] A.J. Woodman, *Tacitus reviewed*, Oxford 1998, p. 18.

[13] A history of the early editions in B. Antón Martínez, *El Tacitismo en el siglo XVII en España: el proceso de receptio*, Valladolid 1991, pp. 37-46; K.C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought*, Chicago 1976, pp. 5-13; J. von Stackelberg, *Tacitus in der Romania. Studien zur literarischen Rezeption des Tacitus in Italien und Frankreich*, Tübingen 1960, pp. 44-55.

[14] P. Burke, *Tacitism*, in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Tacitus*, London 1969, pp. 149-171; P. Burke, *Tacitism, Scepticism, and Reason of State*, in J.H. Burns, M. Goldie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 479-498; A. Stegmann, *Le Tacitisme: programme pour un nouvel essai de definition*, in *Machiavellismo e antimachiavellichi nel cinquecento*, in "Il Pensiero Politico, Rivista di Storia delle Idee Politiche e Sociale", 1969, 2, 3, pp. 117-130.

[15] G. Toffanin, *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo". La "politica storica" al tempo della controriforma*, Naples 1972 [or. ed. 1929]; A. Momigliano, *The First Political Commentary on Tacitus*, in A. Momigliano (ed.), *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici*, Rome 1955, pp. 37-59; Schellhase, *Tacitus* cit.; R.

Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651*, Cambridge 1993; É. Thuau, *Raison d'État et pensée politique à l'époque de Richelieu*, Paris 1966; E.-L. Etter, *Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Basel Stuttgart 1966; J. Soll, *Publishing the Prince: History, Reading, and the Birth of Political Criticism*, Ann Arbor 2005.

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24 See *Ann.* I, 6. Tacitus, *Las obras de Cornelio Tácito traducidas de latin en castellano por Emanvel Sveyro* (trans. E. Sueyro), Antwerp 1613, p. 5.

[25] Tacitus, *Obras de Caio Cornelio Tácito* (trans. C. Coloma), Douai 1629, p. 6. For a critical modern reading see A.J. Woodman, *A death in the first act (Annals I.6)*, in Id., *Tacitus reviewed* cit., pp. 23-39.

[26] See Lepidus's speech on *Ann.* IV, 20 or Agricola's characterization in *Agr.* 1-3. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford 1958, vol. 2, pp. 521, 547-548.

[27] Burke, *Tacitism, Scepticism* cit., p. 484; Davis, *Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos* cit., p. 57; Thuau, *Raison d'État* cit., p. 53.

[28] Antón Martínez, *El Tacitismo* cit., p. 10; equally vague is D. Shuger, *Castigating Livy: The Rape of Lucretia and the Old Arcadia*, in "Renaissance Quarterly", 1998, 51, 2, p. 538.

[29] D.R. Kelley, *Tacitus Noster: The Germania in the Renaissance and Reformation*, in T.J. Luce, A.J. Woodman (eds.), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*, Princeton 1993, p. 159.

[30] Toffanin, *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo"* cit., pp. 10, 129.

[31] J.A. Maravall, *Teoría del Estado en España en el siglo XVII*, Madrid 1997, p. 381.

[32] C. Davis, *El tacitismo político español y la metáfora del cuerpo*, in A. Redondo (ed.), *Le corps comme métaphore dans l'Espagne des XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*, Paris 1992, p. 33; see also Davis, *Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos* cit., p. 57; J. L. Sánchez Lora, *Arias Montano y el pensamiento político en la corte de Felipe II*, Huelva 2008, p. 14.

[33] K.C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in the political thought of Machiavelli*, in "Il Pensiero Politico", 1971, 4, 3, p. 381.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 384-385, 390, 391.

[35] J.H. Whitfield, *Livy > Tacitus*, in R. Bolgar (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture, A. D. 1500-1700*, Cambridge 1976, pp. 285-287.

[36] Toffanin, *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo"* cit., p. 56. Criticized in von Stackelberg, *Tacitus* cit., pp. 65-66, and Schellhase, *Tacitus* cit., p. x.

[37] Tierno Galván, *El tacitismo* cit., p. 33.

[38] Tuck, *Philosophy and Government* cit., pp. 40-41.

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[77] See Salmon, *Cicero and Tacitus* cit., p. 321.

[78] Panckoucke and Stackelberg locate reeditions in Douay, Baltazar Bellere, 1609. Stackelberg speaks of a separate edition of *Germania* in 1585, but Panckoucke indicates that this is an edition of the *Dialogue des orateurs*.

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Spanish summary

Las obras del historiador latino Cayo Cornelio Tácito se convirtieron en auténticos *bestsellers* históricos en la Europa de los siglos XVI y XVII. Desde Italia a Francia, así como en Inglaterra, los Países Bajos, el Sacro Imperio germánico y la monarquía hispana, sus obras fueron leídas con avidez. En poco tiempo apareció toda una serie de trabajos basados en sus *Anales, Historias, Germania, Vida de Agrícola* e, incluso, en el *Diálogo de los oradores*. Estas obras tomaron la forma de comentarios y notas a los textos originales, discursos y recopilaciones de aforismos y sentencias, etc., pero la dimensión del fenómeno fue tal que da la impresión de que cualquier obra que tuviese algo que ver con el autor latino encontró un impresor dispuesto a publicarla y un cierto número de lectores.

Naturalmente, una parte importante de estos libros de, sobre y en torno a Tácito estuvo formada por diversas traducciones de sus obras a varias de las lenguas vernáculas de Europa. Uno de los rasgos distintivos del Renacimiento fue la recuperación y puesta en uso del corpus clásico. Se dedicó un gran esfuerzo a buscar, corregir, enmendar, editar y leer los textos de los autores griegos y latinos. Sus obras se imitaron y se comentaron, se extractaron los pasajes más señalados de las mismas y se compusieron recopilaciones a partir de ellas. Obviamente, la traducción de los poetas, dramaturgos, filósofos e historiadores de la Antigüedad tuvo un papel muy importante en este nuevo contexto cultural. Estas traducciones fueron parte integrante de la cultura y la política de la Edad Moderna, un panorama en el que las traducciones de Tácito tuvieron, muy concretamente, un papel destacado.

En la Edad Moderna, los traductores solían indicar la superioridad del Latín frente a la expresión en vernáculo, la falta de vocabulario y la necesidad de neologismos y otras dificultades que encontraban en su trabajo. Llenaron también muchas páginas del eterno debate entre la traducción literal, palabra por palabra, y la traducción del sentido general de una obra. En el caso de las traducciones Tácito no era raro que mencionaran además las dificultades estilísticas propias de este autor, o la *brevitas* y la densidad de sus frases. No resulta raro, pues la traducción es un fenómeno lleno de intrigas que han atraído la atención de numerosos estudiosos. El desequilibrio, la diferencia y (al mismo tiempo) la semejanza entre el texto original y el texto traducido ha sido el objeto de constantes reflexiones, de repetidos intentos, desde la Antigüedad hasta nuestros días, de desvelar su secreto funcionamiento. Sería por lo tanto falso afirmar que no existen estudios históricos sobre la traducción. Sería una

exageración decir que las traducciones de historias han sido dadas de lado por los estudiosos o que hasta hace poco la historia de la traducción ha sido una actividad académica marginal. Resulta sin embargo apropiado llamar la atención del lector diciendo que los historiadores no han explorado suficientemente las posibilidades de estudiar las traducciones del pasado.

Un tratamiento propiamente histórico de la traducción debería concentrarse en identificar y analizar la presencia de una época pasada en el texto traducido. Su objetivo es desentrañar cómo determinadas circunstancias particulares y otros rasgos culturales más generales se infiltraron en la versión que se ha llegado hasta nosotros. Tratará, en fin, de comprender el modo en que el texto traducido actuaba sobre la realidad pasada, sus efectos y consecuencias, y, en la medida de lo posible, las intenciones del traductor. Desde este punto de vista, no parece descabellado considerar la traducción como algo más complejo que una mera transacción lingüística. Se trata de una elaborada forma de intercambio cultural en la que los textos cobran una vida nueva en una cultura que los altera y se ve modificada por ellos al mismo tiempo. Los rasgos añadidos en cualquier texto traducido, ya sean más o menos visibles, voluntarios o introducidos de una manera inconsciente, son el producto de una época histórica. A través de lo que a menudo no es sino un pequeño error, o una indicación aparentemente menor, estos rasgos ofrecen una clave esencial para interpretar las prácticas intelectuales de la época que les dio vida. Las traducciones del pasado fueron una parte integrante de procesos históricos más amplios, y su significado queda oscurecido si se estudian exclusivamente en relación con las versiones anteriores y posteriores de otras traducciones del mismo texto o comparándolas únicamente con el original. Desde una perspectiva histórica debería ser posible mostrar, en definitiva, que los textos traducidos tuvieron efectos reales, que fueron creados por personas que formaban parte de ambientes intelectuales precisos, vinculadas a unos patrones particulares, y que estaban inmersos en determinados mercados librescos.

De acuerdo con la interpretación más habitual, las obras de Tácito son consideradas narrativas históricas, relatos de no ficción sobre los primeros momentos del Imperio romano y, consecuentemente, fuentes más o menos valiosas para la historia antigua. La filología clásica, más crítica, subraya habitualmente las características artísticas y puramente literarias de las obras de Cayo Cornelio Tácito, así como plantea sólidas dudas sobre el valor y el empleo que debe darse a los datos históricos referidos en ellas. A mí me interesa estudiar, sin embargo, el particular uso político que se otorgó a estos mismos textos durante los siglos XVI y XVII. Tácito, en tanto que pagano, fue un autor muy controvertido: lo mismo se le acusaba de impiedad como se ala-

baban las interesantísimas enseñanzas políticas que se obtenían de sus textos. Las traducciones que se compusieron en esta época reflejaban este ambiente intelectual y nos ofrecen preciosas pistas para entender cómo la historia de los primeros emperadores de Roma, de las tribus bárbaras del norte de Europa o de las costumbres militares de la Antigüedad fueron utilizadas para interpretar la realidad, dar consejos de orden político o, incluso, como guías de actuación personal.

El vínculo entre los textos de Tácito y la esfera de la política fue constantemente subrayado desde, al menos, la primera edición completa de sus obras, aparecida en Roma en 1515. Los primeros editores de Tácito, tales como Filippo Beroaldo, Andrea Alciato o Beatus Rhenanus, ayudaron a través de sus prefacios y consideraciones preliminares a establecer esta imagen. En cualquier caso, la vinculación se volvió mucho más estrecha y se renovó ampliamente a partir de que Justo Lipsio publicara en 1574 la que fue la edición latina más importante de la Edad Moderna. Lispio revisó su trabajo al menos otras seis veces hasta la edición póstuma de 1607 y los textos corregidos de Tácito fueron adquiriendo cada vez mayor fama, en una nueva ola de recepción que abarco toda Europa. La impresionante ola de traducciones que analiza este libro corrió en paralelo a esa recepción latina. A partir del último cuarto del siglo XVI y a lo largo de todo el XVII, los textos de Tácito jugaron un creciente papel en los desarrollos del pensamiento político, y los historiadores los han asociado con el surgimiento de las obras y tratados en torno a la razón de estado. A pesar de que es posible que esta cuestión sea sólo una parte de la historia de la recepción de Tácito, no hay duda de que la posición central de las obras de Tácito las hace especialmente interesantes para entender la cultura política de la Edad Moderna. De hecho, a partir de las investigaciones pioneras de Guiseppe Toffanin, se ha denominado "tacitismo" al uso de Tácito en la política moderna. En este libro muestro, entre otras cuestiones, como las traducciones pueden servirnos para juzgar la validez de esta noción un tanto imprecisa.

Las traducciones de Tácito son consideradas aquí como lecturas particulares de sus textos, así como puntos de partida para múltiples nuevas lecturas, constreñidas o mediadas por las características añadidas al texto traducido. Esta cadena ininterrumpida de lecturas e interpretaciones muestra la complejidad del proceso de producción de sentido de los textos de Tácito y presta una atención especial al papel activo del publico que los recibió. Las fuentes empleadas en este libro son fundamentalmente españolas, inglesas y francesas, pero se mantiene en él un enfoque tan amplio como ha resultado posible, incorporando numerosas referencias al caso italiano, alemán, portugués y holandés entre otros. El objetivo ha sido mostrar las características y la evolución de la recepción de Tácito y desarrollar un esquema que permitiera

las comparaciones y generalizaciones entre las distintas traducciones y los usos que recibieron. La obra esta estructurada temáticamente y no con un criterio de tipo cronológico o geográfico, pues se trataba esencialmente de poner sobre la mesa algunas de las posibilidades que ofrece un estudio histórico de estas traducciones.

La discusión arranca con una consideración acerca del carácter europeo de la recepción de Tácito. En este primer capítulo se lleva a cabo una panorámica de los estudios acerca del Tacitismo escritos por expertos en la política de la Edad Moderna. El objetivo es centrar y contextualizar la problemática que aborda la obra. Para ello se incluyen también un catálogo de traducciones y unas breves reflexiones generales sobre las traducciones, ediciones y comentarios, así como sobre los principales problemas existentes a la hora de catalogar estas mismas traducciones. Esta panorámica se complementa con un análisis de las percepciones contemporáneas sobre la recepción de Tácito. A menudo los traductores emplearon o criticaron el trabajo de sus predecesores, establecieron comparaciones entre ellos y trataron de situarse a sí mismos y sus obras en el seno de un ambiente intelectual compartido. En ocasiones, estas comparaciones y enfrentamientos sobrepasan las barreras lingüísticas, y revelan la percepción que entonces existía sobre el uso de Tácito por parte de distintos gobernantes europeos. Las acusaciones y disputas que surgieron en torno a estas percepciones cruzadas ofrecen un claro ejemplo del grado de conexión que existió a nivel europeo en el pensamiento político del momento.

En el segundo capítulo son abordadas cuestiones aparentemente evidentes. Las traducciones de Tácito implicaron la producción de un libro y compartían por tanto las características históricas de los libros producidos en la Europa moderna. Tal y como ha venido mostrando sobradamente la historia de la lectura, los textos sólo se hacen accesibles a sus lectores a través de formas materiales y esas formas afectan de una manera muy considerable al proceso de producción de sentido. Desde la portada a la contraportada, las páginas de una traducción de los siglos XVI o XVII incluían muchos elementos que mediaban entre texto y lectores. Para imprimir una traducción era necesario elegir los tipos y sus distintos tamaños y la calidad del papel. Era asimismo necesario dividir el texto en libros, capítulos y otras secciones, incluir resúmenes al inicio de cada una de ellas, componer e imprimir las notas marginales, los índices de lugares, personas y materias, diagramas, grabados, etc. Todo esto añadía capas de significado al texto, modificando y constriñendo sus lecturas posibles. Puede que los textos sean intercambiables, pero los libros no lo son y, por lo tanto, cada una de las ediciones de Tácito es una fuente irremplazable para comprender la historia de su recepción en la Edad Moderna.

El latín era el lenguaje de los clásicos, así como el de las personas educadas de la Europa moderna. Es fácil detectar un marcado componente social en las traducciones vernáculas que estaban dirigidas – en principio – a un público que no podía acceder a los autores clásicos en su idioma original. Un estudio detallado de las traducciones permite comprender la circulación y la influencia mutua entre la cultura popular y la de élite o, cuanto menos, las maneras en que los traductores eruditos y otros estudiosos imaginaron la lectura popular. Hasta cierto punto, los traductores buscaron la popularización de las obras de Tácito, pero también tuvieron muchas dudas y miedos acerca de los usos que un público amplio podría hacer de unos textos que estaban considerados peligrosos y reservados para los gobernantes y sus consejeros. Los modos en que se leyeron efectivamente las traducciones de Tácito, así como los modos en que se concibió esta lectura extendida, son un elemento clave en la expansión de los textos del autor clásico y de las teorías sobre la historia y la política que se asociaron a ellos.

En el capítulo tercero se muestra que la traducción era concebida como parte de la actividad intelectual del estudioso, parte de la educación del gobernante y parte del ocio de un noble. Estas tres maneras de ver la traducción indican a su vez la inmensa variedad de motivos y de usos que encerraba cada una de las traducciones del historiador latino. Gran número de personas de las más variadas condiciones – desde reyes y reinas a soldados, juristas, médicos o astrónomos – apadrinaron o emprendieron directamente la actividad intelectual de reescribir las obras de Tácito. Todos ellos compartieron la autoría original de Tácito, pero con fines e ideas muy diferentes sobre la actividad que estaban desempeñando. Muy a menudo, y especialmente en el caso de los estudiosos, los traductores se encontraban insertos en redes de patronazgo y servicio, y sus traducciones contribuyeron a consolidar su imagen pública y promover sus carreras en la corte. Los contextos específicos y las ocasiones concretas para publicar una traducción deben ser examinadas detalladamente si queremos comprender las características de esta actividad y los distintos significados que pudo tener cada caso particular.

En el cuarto capítulo se aborda la relación entre la historia clásica y el presente de Europa en los siglos XVI y XVII. En algunas ocasiones se concibió como mínima la distancia cronológica entre las dos épocas, mientras que en otras pareció insalvable. Algunos acontecimientos e interpretaciones fueron rechazados de manera explícita, como producto del carácter bárbaro de la Antigüedad. Muchos otros hechos recogidos en los textos de Tácito fueron sin embargo incorporados a un repositorio de dichos y hechos que podían ser utilizados en el presente. Las costumbres romanas, los ritos, la moneda, el equipamiento y las tácticas militares, las festividades, los car-

gos civiles y religiosos, etc. fueron en algunas ocasiones traducidos a sus equivalentes presentes, y en otras reducidos a un pasado ya cerrado. Algunos traductores establecieron vínculos cercanos entre el pasado y el presente, y explotaron las posibilidades políticas de esta identificación, mientras que algunos otros reflejaron estrictamente las diferencias entre el pasado y el presente en que vivían. En cualquier caso, los aspectos más polémicos del texto obligaron a los traductores a posicionarse con claridad frente al texto controvertido y estas opciones fueron más allá de la elección de una palabra u otra. La relación fluctuante entre la distancia crítica y la proximidad utilizable proporciona una referencia interesante para medir los modos en que se emplearon los clásicos en la Europa moderna.

Los textos de Tácito fueron muy apreciados en la Edad Moderna. Las cualidades estilísticas de sus obras – brevedad, oscuridad, abundancia de axiomas y sentencias, etc. – se mezclaban con el interés que suscitaban los hechos narrados en ellas. Sus lectores emplearon las técnicas intelectuales que tenían a su disposición, llevando a cabo una lectura detenida que tenía como objetivo extraer los lugares comunes, o *topoi* (las sedes de la argumentación), del texto. En el epílogo se pone de relieve que en la Edad Moderna la historia era considerada como un almacén de ejemplos que, correctamente recogidos, procesados y clasificados, ofrecía al lector guías para la actuación política. Las traducciones aluden constantemente a este vínculo entre historia y política y en muchas ocasiones prefiguran, e incluso recomiendan explícitamente, este tipo de lectura de las obras de Tácito. Los preliminares, las anotaciones y otras estrategias editoriales (tales como los índices de lugares comunes) median activamente, de nuevo, entre el texto y los lectores, configurándose así como un elemento fundamental para poder comprender la recepción moderna del historiador latino.

Este breve libro es y no es, en definitiva, una historia de la traducción de Tácito. En él se analizan los múltiples métodos y estrategias empleados en la Edad Moderna para volcar a Tácito a las lenguas vernáculas, pero el objetivo primordial es descubrir algunas de las características más peculiares del pensamiento político de los siglos XVI y XVII tal y como nos las desvelan las marcas y signos dejados por y en las traducciones examinadas. De ningún modo intenta ser un relato exhaustivo, sino que más bien propone algunas cuestiones preliminares para reevaluar el papel de las traducciones y la naturaleza del pensamiento político moderno. Trata simplemente de mostrar que el Tácito traducido no fue una mera extensión del texto original, sino una arma afilada en el combate acerca del significado y los límites de la actividad política.

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